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THE CRISIS

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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Editor: James W. Ivy
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Vol. 60, No. 10 **Whole Number 508**

IN THIS ISSUE

December, 1953

COVER
Mildred Saunders, dean of women at Virginia Seminary, Lynchburg, Virginia. Twenty-one-year-old Miss Saunders is one of the youngest deans of women in the United States.

NEGROES NOW EAT UPSTAIRS—*By Clarence Mitchell* 585
SEGREGATION vs. INTEGRATION—*By Guy B. Johnson* 591
BOROUGH PRESIDENT HULAN JACK 601
LINCOLN, WILBERFORCE, AND INTEGRATION—*by Miles Mark Fisher* 602
RICHARD ALLEN: FOUNDER OF A CHURCH—*By Langston Hughes* 605
SEGREGATION CASES—*By Channing Tobias* 612

DEPARTMENTS

GOOD NEWS 590
LOOKING AND LISTENING 614
ALONG THE NAACP BATTLEFRONT 617
BRANCH NEWS 622
COLLEGE AND SCHOOL NEWS 627
BOOK REVIEWS 635
LEGAL DIRECTORY 640

THE CRISIS *was founded in* 1910 *and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.* THE CRISIS *is published monthly from October to May inclusive and bimonthly June-July and August-September by The Crisis Publishing Co., Inc., at 20 West 40th Street, New York* 18, *N. Y. Walter White, secretary; and Mrs. Lillian A. Alexander, treasurer. The subscription price is* $1.50 *a year or* 15 *cents a copy. Foreign subscription* $1.75. *The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscription may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and three weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care, it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Reentered as second class matter July* 22, 1949, *at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March* 3, 1879.

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Maceo Sh

THESE OFFICIALS *helped launch, on October 25, the holiday NAACP Christmas seal drive of the Los Angeles, California, branch at a tea sponsored by the sunshine committee of the Order of Eastern Stars. From left: Dr. E. I. Robinson, branch president; Mrs. Lillie Montgomery and Mrs. Dorothy Dandridge, co-chairmen of club division; and Lester Bailey, field secretary, southern California branches.*

■ This is what happened when racial segregation was abolished in the Charleston Navy Yard

Negroes Now Eat Upstairs

By Clarence Mitchell

THE ending of segregation in the Charleston, S. C., Navy yard cafeteria was page one news in Charleston. A newsreel of the event was shown in South Carolina theaters and possibly other southern cities.

The Washington Bureau this month [November 9 NAACP board meeting] devotes its entire written report to a discussion of the elimination of racial segregation at the Charleston Yard. We are doing this because the situation may be an indication of what will happen in the South when segregation is eliminated in other more extensive aspects of community life. As of Monday, October 19, the Charleston yard ended segregation in its cafeteria. Previously, segregation in the use of drinking fountains had been abandoned by the Navy on September 15. The Yard has not yet eliminated segregation in restroom facilities, although, it is anticipated that this will be done in the near future.

On the first day of integration a crowd of whites blocked the entrance to the cafeteria. Colored employees were formerly confined to the first floor of the building and whites used the second floor. Also, industrial employees of the Yard eat at 12:00 noon and clerical employees eat at 12:30. Most of those in the crowd were industrial workers and they prevented other whites from entering the cafeteria by shouting and insulting them. However, newspaper reports said that the crowd was in a joking mood. At 12:30 the "industrials" went back to work and the white clerical employees used the cafeteria in numbers approximating the normal crowd. Fifteen colored employees used the upper floor formerly reserved for whites. They sat at separate tables.

Thaddeus G. Fraser, an employee at the Yard, initiated action against segregation and he was supported in his effort by the Washington Bureau.

CLARENCE MITCHELL *is director of the NAACP Washington Bureau.*

* This article was originally the report of the NAACP Washington Bureau to the NAACP board of directors meeting in New York City on November 9, 1953.

He has provided us with a chronological report on what happened when segregation ended in the cafeteria. It is as follows:

"Tuesday (20th), about 600 to 700 spectators gathered immediately after the whistle blew for dinner, all white. Since, I understand that the captain of the Yard returned and called a meeting of the masters, and must have informed them that people entering the cafeteria must not be interfered with. This message had been passed along to the white workers, and on this day, though a greater number assembled, they were orderly, and did in no way interfere with anyone.

OFFICERS IN EVIDENCE

"There were many naval officers and many police officers in evidence this day, and all through the rest of the week. Approximately 40 Negroes ate this day upstairs. The white industrial workers fell off to about 20, with about 30 white clerical workers. About 100 colored workers also congregated after they ate their dinner.

"Wednesday (21st), the crowd of spectators fell off to about 400. The spectators are always industrial workers. The white industrials still boycott the cafeteria, only about 20 industrials, and about 60 clericals using the facilities this day. An official picture was taken of the crowd today. A few white women appeared in the crowd of spectators today. Everyone is peaceful, but everyone is also very tense. There's no fault to be found with cafeteria service at anytime.

"Thursday (22nd), only about 300 spectators today. No disorder whatever. Lots of officers still in evidence. Approximately 60 Negroes ate upstairs, approximately 75 whites, mostly clericals, ate. Boycott still on. Tenseness slightly relaxed today.

"Friday (23rd), about 100 Negroes ate upstairs. The colored people seem to be taking the situation in stride. Not overdoing nor shy. About 20 white industrials, and about 80 white clericals. This being pay day, and everyone going to cash their checks, only about 150 congregated today."

The Charleston *News* and *Courier* interpreted the action of the 15 colored employees who ate on the first day as a move to force white people to eat with colored at the same tables. In an editorial on October 21 the *News* and *Courier* said: "Although in the past equal dining facilities had been provided for whites and Negroes, there had been no integration of the races at mealtime—which apparently is one of the goals of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

DIRECTOR'S LETTER

The Washington bureau answered this editorial in a letter which was prominently published promptly in the *Courier* on October 27. The text of the Director's letter is as follows:

"It is interesting to note that although your editorial took the colored people to task for eating at different tables and did not say anything about the large number of whites who imposed their will on fellow workers by congregating at the building's only entrance. Your own news story of October 20 states *'the second shift, apparently unaware of the earlier disturbance, ate as usual.'* Thus it would appear that the

drop in the use of the cafeteria could in a large part be attributed to the presence of a derisive crowd using the deadly weapon of ridicule.

"The state of South Carolina does not exist in a vacuum. As you well know, the governor of South Carolina, is representing this country at the U.N. and Congressman James P. Richards of your state is the ranking member of the House of Foreign Affairs Committee. You also invited General Mark Clark to come to Charleston to head The Citadel. I am sure General Clark could tell you that in Korea the Communists constantly used racial discrimination in the United States as a weapon of war. I am sure that Governor Byrnes and Mr. Richards are aware of this also, although they might not admit that they are.

"Hence, South Carolina cannot afford to have patterns of segregation which make any person from your state appear ridiculous in a world discussion on human rights. Even if there are people in the state who think they can afford the dubious luxury of racial segregation, it is unfair for them to make the rest of the country suffer for their myopia."

EMPLOYEE LETTER

A letter from Mr. Charles H. Monson, a white employee at the Yard appeared in the *Courier* on October 24. The text is as follows:

"When I first came to Charleston last February, it was with the preadvised knowledge of the racial situation in the South . . . and with much additional advice on how to get along in relation to it. Being a native Californian and unfamiliar with the issue as it now stands, I came with a firm determination not to involve myself or argue my views in the matter. After all, I hadn't been out of the state 20 years . . . so I made the trip with an open mind, deciding to keep my mouth shut and my eyes and ears open so that I might gain a firsthand impression of this so-called 'problem.'

"So far I've withheld comment and put off writing this, but the article on page one October 20 headed 'Non-Segregated Dining Cuts Navy Yard Cafeteria Trade' made it impossible to keep my views to myself any longer.

"I was brought up in a neighborhood which was composed of a fair number of Negro families; I went to school and church with their children—all with the child's unconcerned outlook. I grew up with that same attitude, remembering my father's advice 'Judge a person for what he is, and not for the color of his skin or shape of his eyes.'

"So you have a problem out here. I doubt it, but let's examine the issue squarely. You shove your Negro population to the rear of your buses, segregate them in your theatres, ball parks, and by social pressure, generally force them into the slum districts (and some I've seen here can't be any worse than those of Los Angeles or San Francisco; which is comparable to some of the best pigsties I've seen) . . . and to what end? I fail to see what you think you're solving by all this, and haven't had anyone yet explain it to me to any degree of satisfaction.

"As for this asinine demonstration put on by some of the 'superior' whites at the Navy Yard, nothing would please me more than to learn

at a future date that some of them fainted at their workbenches from acute and prolonged malnutrition."

PUBLISHER COMMENTS

A few other South Carolina publishers commented on this incident and one editorial appeared in the Anderson *Independent* on October 24:

"Segregation ended in the cafeteria at the Charleston Navy Yard Monday.

"Nothing of this kind was tried during the Roosevelt administrations.

"President Truman didn't seek to intermingle the races at Navy Yard eating places.

"It remained for President Eisenhower to order the end of segregation at the Navy Yard.

"When Candidate Ike spoke in Columbia, after a glowing introduction by Gov. James F. Byrnes, he overlooked telling the people he planned to end segregation in the Navy Yard. The governor didn't have a word to say about it either.

"Wonder if the 'Ike Boys' hereabouts—tackers up of signs, distributors of GOP propaganda, etc.—are happy now that their President has chased white people out of Navy Yard cafeterias so Negroes may eat there?"

This provoked a reply from the Charleston *News* and *Courier* in an editorial on October 26. It was as follows:

"The *News* and *Courier*, like the Anderson *Independent*, opposed the forced mixture of races in eating places. But the record should be set straight.

"President Roosevelt, by his Executive Order No. 8802, prohibited 'discrimination' in the the employment of workers in defense industries or by the Government. This set the whole pattern for what has followed.

"President Truman ended separation of the races in the armed forces. Long before President Eisenhower took office, whites and Negroes were eating in the same mess halls and sleeping in the same barracks.

"Under President Truman, the government successfully backed legal action which required many white graduate schools to admit Negroes. The Truman administration also backed action to force ALL public schools to mix the races and to force EVERY SINGLE EMPLOYER in the country to mix the races.

"White Fair Dealers in the South accuse Mr. Eisenhower of being pro-Negro, Fair Dealers in the North accuse Mr. Eisenhower of being anti-Negro—since he would not support the FEPC. The Fair Dealers can't have it both ways at once."

The record should also include a letter from a colored woman which was published in the *News* and *Courier* on the same day that the Washington Bureau's letter appeared. One of the disturbing "quotes" in this letter is as follows:

DISTURBING QUOTATION

"I have read about the non-segregated cafeteria at the Navy Yard and the thing that aroused my interest most is the fact that those 14 or 15 Negroes dispersed themselves about the room occupying some 14 of the eight-place tables in the dining hall.

"What those white employees did was no more than what I, personally,

(*Continued on page* 638)

KIVIE KAPLAN (*right*) *of the board of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund congratulates Carl Chandler upon the latter's election by 275 white co-workers to the Profit Sharing Advisory Committee of the Ayer, Massachusetts, tannery of the Colonial Tanning Company (which Mr. Kaplan directs), nationally known for its profit sharing plan.*

Good News

Dr. Rupert Searcy of Cleveland, Mississippi, is featured in the November 3 issue of *Look* magazine. Dr. Searcy is one of ten Negro physicians trained under Mississippi's plan for training doctors for rural practice.

★ ★ ★

"A Negro Doctor Wins-Over a Southern Town," in the October 24 issue of *The Saturday Evening Post,* is the story of Dr. James Dickey, who recently was named the "outstanding citizen" of Taylor, Texas.

★ ★ ★

Magistrate J. Amos Harris won a six-year term in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on November 3, running fifth among the seven successful Republican candidates. Mr. Harris is presently the only Negro magistrate in Philadelphia.

★ ★ ★

Vic Power and Elston Howard, natives of San Juan, Puerto Rico, and St. Louis, Missouri, respectively, were among eight minor league players called up by the New York Yankees in October. Power is a first-baseman and out-fielder; Howard, a catcher who has been shifted to the outfield. These are the first Negro players called up by the Yanks.

★ ★ ★

Louis Gossett of New York City, who will be 18 next May, is starring in "Take a Giant Step," now playing at the Lyceum Theatre, New York City. This is Negro author Louis Peterson's first produced play and Gossett's first appearance on the Broadway stage.

★ ★ ★

John B. King of Brooklyn, New York, is co-winner with Joseph Morrow of Stamford, Connecticut, of the James J. Hoey Award given annually by the Catholic Interracial Council of New York City to a white and a Negro Catholic who have made outstanding contributions in the field of interracial justice. Mr. King is the first Negro to hold the post of assistant superintendent of schools on the New York Board of Education.

★ ★ ★

Capt. George Redding was advanced in October to the rank of deputy inspector in the New York City Police Department by Police Commissioner George P. Monaghan. Fifty-two-year-old Mr. Redding, who has twice been commended for excellent police work, is the first New York City policeman to attain the rank of deputy inspector.

★ ★ ★

■ Some ways in which the South might react to the impending U. S. Supreme Court decision in the five school cases

Segregation vs. Integration*

By Guy B. Johnson

THE Supreme Court of the United States is about to make a momentous decision on the question of the constitutionality of compulsory segregation in the public schools. This decision may precipitate a grave crisis in the relations of the races in the South. It behooves us all, therefore, to understand the possible consequences of the court's decision and to be prepared to act with wisdom and intelligence in whatever crisis may arise.

In the South today there is a great uneasiness over the imminent threat to the legal structure of compulsory segregation in the public schools. Last December the United States Supreme Court heard arguments on this question. Five cases, sponsored by the NAACP on behalf of the parents of Negro school children in South Carolina, Virginia, Delaware, Kansas, and the District of Columbia were before the Court on appeal. The cases were consolidated for the purpose of the hearing. The NAACP argued through counsel that even though the separate Negro schools were equal to white schools, segregation on grounds of race is in itself an act of discrimination and is therefore contrary to the federal constitution.

The defense argued, of course, that there is nothing inherently wrong or discriminatory in racial segregation, and it asked the court to reaffirm its long-standing view to the effect that racial separation may lawfully be required by the states if facilities for the two races are equal. As you all know, the strategy of the NAACP for the past several years has been to try to push the Supreme

DR. GUY B. JOHNSON *is a member of the department of sociology and anthropology at the University of North Carolina and the author of many books and articles in the field of race relations and sociology.*

* Originally an address delivered before the Association of Former Internes and Residents of Freedmen's Hospital, Washington, D. C., June 4, 1953. Reprinted by permission from the September 1953 issue of the "Journal of the National Medical Association."

Court to a show-down decision on segregation per se. There was every indication that the Court was now ready to meet this issue head-on. The fact that six months have elapsed and the decision is still not ready is an indication of the gravity of the case. This is indeed one of the hottest potatoes that the court has ever had to handle.

POSSIBLE WAYS

Now there are several possible ways in which the Supreme Court might dispose of this group of school cases, but they boil down to two basic possibilities. On the one hand, the court could make a "separate but equal" decision. This would be in line with the doctrine which it has followed ever since the decision in the case of *Plessy vs Ferguson* in 1890. In that case the Court declared that a state may require a public carrier to provide separate accommodations for whites and Negroes if it requires the carrier to make the accommodations equal. That case set a precedent which has governed nearly all of the subsequent decisions on the question of segregation. On the other hand, the court could declare that state laws requiring racial segregation are acts of discrimination committed by authority of the state and are therefore contrary to the constitution of the United States. Admittedly this would be a new precedent, that is, an overruling of previous decisions, but the court has done this sort of thing a number of times. One example is the decision against the "white primary" in the case of *Smith vs Allwright* in 1944. In fact, it is this flexibility, this perrogative of the Supreme Court to change its mind, that keeps our constitutional law in step with the changing needs of the nation.

If the Supreme Court takes the latter stand in the school segregation cases, the effect is exactly the same as if all the constitutional and statutory provisions requiring the segregation of the races in the public schools in the South were suddenly repealed. For reasons which I cannot take time to discuss here, I believe that this is the decision which the court will make.

EXPECTED CONSEQUENCES

However, since either of the above decisions is possible, let us take them in order and explore the probable consequences. If the court makes the "separate but equal" decision, the white South will for the most part feel relieved, perhaps even somewhat exultant, and the Negro for the most part will feel greatly disappointed. I suggest that both of these attitudes are short-sighted. Let me explain that statement. If the court takes this line, it will most certainly put a heavy accent on the word *equal*. It would say in effect that the Negro schools in any given district must *in fact* be made equal to the white schools in that district within a certain reasonable period of time, otherwise the law requiring segregation is void, and any Negro plaintiff may obtain a court order for his admission to the superior white school in his district.

The South would at once find itself faced with a tremendous financial burden. It is estimated that the new capital outlay required to equalize physical facilities alone will be from fifty million to more than a

hundred million dollars in each state, or more than one billion dollars for the whole South. Added to this would be the increased cost of operating and maintaining the Negro schools at the new level—probably half a billion dollars a year. This all adds up to a staggering financial problem. Certain things begin to happen. For example, the South suddenly gets completely converted to the idea of federal aid to education. It also begins to look at the price tag on segregation. Here and there segregation begins to go, first in the counties which have few Negroes, later in other areas. The change is not dramatic but it is inevitable and it is progressive.

CURRENT TRENDS

Consider also the trends of the times. In the past fifty years we have learned many lessons in interracial understanding and cooperation. Two world wars and a great depression have taught us a great deal. Urbanization, industrialization, better education, better income, better health—all these have broadened the opportunities for both races. Even some of the legal bulwarks of discrimination have been nibbled away by court action. The Supreme Court has nullified the white primary, and hundreds of thousands of Negroes are now playing their part in political decisions in the South, to say nothing of running successfully for public office. The court has opened the way for non-segregated interstate travel, and such travel is becoming commonplace in the South. It has also made decisions which have resulted in the admission of Negroes to state-supported "white" graduate and professional schools in all except four or five of the Southern states. Furthermore, several white private institutions have voluntarily removed the color bar.

When Ralph Bunche can speak to unsegregated audiences in public auditoriums in Raleigh, Miami, and Atlanta, and when Rufus Clement can win election to the Atlanta school board in spite of the ruthless efforts of certain politicians to smear his good name—well, a new day is dawning in the South. In short, the idea of integration is gaining, and we approach nearer and nearer to the American ideal of justice and equality under the law. This is why I say that although the Negro may be bitterly disappointed by a "separate but equal" type of Supreme Court decision, he really can't lose. Integration and segregation are like two unequally matched boxers in the ring. Segregation is groggy and he can't win. It is just a question of whether he loses the decision on points or goes down under a knockout punch.

What about the consequences of the other possible decision of the Supreme Court, the knock-out punch against segregation? The decision which I think it will make. If and when this legal atom bomb is exploded, the South is going to experience a great shock. There are many white people who will feel that their world has come to an end. It is tragic that the South has let itself get into this sort of psychological fright.

The big mistake, of course, was made many years ago when the South was sick and angry about the emancipation and Reconstruction.

For a while after the Civil War there was a trend toward reconciliation. In South Carolina in 1876 Wade Hampton ran for governor on a Democratic platform which declared "acceptance, in perfect good faith, of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Federal constitution." He was elected. Negroes were welcomed into the Democratic party. An Abbeville newspaper said in 1878: "The color line has been obliterated, and we are all moving along together upon a higher and better platform of equal rights and equal justice for all." But powerful reactionary forces came to the front. They raised the cry of white supremacy. They murdered, they intimidated, they drove the Negro out of political life. Having gained complete control, they wrote segregation into the state constitutions and laws, and they ostracized any white man who dared to speak out in favor of equal rights.

It is ironic that some of the southern states got along for thirty years or longer after the Civil War without completely segregating and disfranchising the Negro, but when they did this they did a thorough job of it. They felt that it was a sort of all-or-none proposition. They put the South in a legal racial straight-jacket, with no middle ground, no freedom of local or individual choice. Two generations of white people have grown up under this heritage, and it is no wonder that to them segregation has seemed right, natural, and they hoped—eternal. And so it is no wonder that the vast majority of southern white people have a very real fear of the drastic changes which will confront them if the Supreme Court outlaws segregation in the schools.

ADVICE FOR SOUTHERNERS

On April 12 I had the honor of delivering the Founder's Day address at Tuskegee. I spoke on this same subject, and I took the opportunity to offer some advice to the southern people. First, I suggested that we should "count to ten" and try to refrain from doing anything in haste or anger. Second, this period of waiting and "cooling off" should be a period of full public discussion, during which all persons, white and Negro, who believe in the Christian and Democratic way of life should take the initiative away from the racial baiters—in short stand up and be counted. Third, I suggested that the southern people should try to keep clearly in mind the probable consequences of whatever actions they decide to take after the Supreme Court decision.

Given the state of mind of many of the southern white people, and particularly of their political leaders who are often more reactionary than the people themselves, what are some of the probable courses of action? I am convinced that there will be a rather general effort to evade the coming of complete integration of the races in the public schools. In the Upper South and border states there will be on the whole a tendency to accept the new situation gracefully but reluctantly. Even so, on the personal level there is going to be a good deal of intolerance and friction, and on the local administrative level there is going to be quite a lot of dodging and compromising.

In the Deep South, where fear and anxiety are much more pronounced, there will probably be some drastic and unintelligent public policies adopted. As you know, there are certain politicians who openly predict wholesale violence if the schools are mixed. Actually, I think they are merely hoping there will be violence in order to get support for their plans to abandon the state support of public schools. Georgia has passed a law providing for the withdrawal of state funds from any institution that admits both races. South Carolina has adopted a constitutional amendment which can be put into effect at any moment by the legislature and which will wipe out completely the state's legal obligation to support a public school system. These are dire threats, but they are going to be tried out.

The theory behind the South Carolina plan is that if the state supports no public schools, it is not discriminating against anyone. Supposedly, the schools would be taken over, operated, and financed by all sorts of private educational agencies. Some of these would be white and some would be colored agencies, but they would all be acting as voluntary private agencies and not as agents of the state. Thus South Carolina would hope to do through private action what it can no longer do by official action.

EDUCATIONAL CONFUSION

What are the logical consequences of the South Carolina plan? The present public schools will have to be conveyed to the private agencies, otherwise the state is still legally involved. This step alone could lead to untold confusion, but assuming it is taken, then what? All school taxes are abolished, of course, and their equivalent must be raised from private citizens in some way or other in order to finance the system of private schools. The result is obvious: well-to-do communities or classes of people get fairly good schools, while most of the Negro and poor white people have the barest minimum of opportunity for education. Next there will be a great cry for state aid. Many white people will say: "This is a sorry mess. Either give us a subsidy or have a mixed public system and be done with it."

Then the state faces a real dilemma. It wants to see its children get an education, but the moment it gives a subsidy to a private agency, the Supreme Court decision enters the picture again. And so the state may find that after several years of confusion and educational injustice to the majority of its children, it is right back where it was on the day of the Supreme Court decision. If any state wishes to try this plan, it should at least do so with its eyes open.

Now I come to the Negro's role in this coming integration process in the public schools. What is his stake, his attitude, his obligation? I venture the opinion that the masses of Negroes in the South have some anxieties of their own in this situation. They resent the existence of compulsory segregation, and they will be thankful to see it go, but they realize well enough that this does not mean the millennium. For a long time they have been conditioned by the fact that the South is really two societies, one white and one Negro. They have built up certain patterns

of compensation and defense, and they have found a measure of emotional security behind the curtain of color.

Many of the younger generation have never had the experience of continuous contact and competition with white people. Now when they enter the school situation with white pupils, they, as well as the white children, will encounter some new problems. Along with new opportunities for self-expression and recognition in competition with white students, there will also be hurt feelings and self-consciousness because of social snobbery and personal frictions. No doubt many Negro parents forsee these problems and are already trying to anticipate the best ways of giving comfort and emotional security to their children when they encounter the new school situation.

ROLE OF PTA

In this connection I want to point out the part which parent-teacher associations can play. Parents and teachers are, in a real sense, the key to the problem of racial tensions in the schools. They, as well as the children, need to be indoctrinated with a spirit of fair play. In communities where racial coeducation is about to begin, the white and Negro PTA's should meet together and discover that they really have some common problems. If parents and teachers are fair but firm in their insistence on good conduct and good manners in the classroom and on the playground, they can make a great contribution to the peace and welfare of school and community.

There is another kind of dilemma which will confront the Negro school teacher and administrator; namely, the prospect of having to sacrifice a certain number of jobs during the process of integration. Now, I do not mean that integration, even if it were carried out completely, would automatically involve the abolition of a large number of schools and teaching positions. Indeed, I would say that those who have argued for integrated schools on the ground that they would save a lot of money have a very weak case. The argument should be rested on moral grounds where it belongs. Actually most of the schools are crowded and teachers are overloaded, and therefore the total number of jobs eliminated should be relatively small. However, I am very much afraid that in those instances where teachers can be dropped, the Negro teachers are going to suffer more than the white; and that for some time to come there will be a tendency on the part of the dominant race, which controls the administration of the school systems, to favor white teachers in the competition for jobs.

The Negro teacher and administrator have built up strong vested interests in the way of jobs, status, and prestige in the separate school system, and it is natural that they approach integration with some anxiety. There will be some loss, some of it just and some of it unjust. At any rate, we have here a problem which must be met with wise leadership and constant pressures in behalf of fair play in school employment.

There are other problems which will arise, but time is short, and I believe I have touched on the most serious problem areas. I should like now to address myself more partic-

ularly to the challenge and the obligation which the impending problems of integration present to Negro professional people, and especially to you who are in the medical profession.

RACE RELATIONS

If and when the Supreme Court declares that segregation is discrimination and therefore unconstitutional, it will merely have removed the legal basis for compulsory segregation. Once it has spoken, it is more or less out of the picture. The problems of interracial adjustment and integration are then not legal problems but problems of human relations. The law can prohibit and restrain certain public and official acts, but it cannot dictate personal attitudes, it cannot create brotherhood.

In the long run, there is no solution to the problem of race relations until the great majority of individuals in both races have become mutually acceptable as fellow-citizens, friends, and neighbors. If this is true, then the coming process of integration imposes upon all of us some new personal and civic obligations. Since it is the Negro who has the greatest stake in the crisis of integration, his leadership is crucial, and that leadership will come primarily from the ranks of those who have had the benefit of college and professional school training.

A new Negro leadership is already emerging in the South, but it needs to be strengthened and expanded. In the process of de-segreation there are four important functions which the Negro leader must serve. First, he must be able to interpret the needs and aspirations of the Negro community to the white community in such a way that the majority groups sees the *total* situation and is willing to cooperate for the advancement of the *whole* community. Second, he must be willing to stand up for justice and equal rights for *all*, even when this means sacrificing some of his popularity. Third, he should contribute his tact and good judgment in alleviating the interracial tension situations that will inevitably arise from time to time. Fourth, he should be active in voluntary civic associations such as the PTA, civic clubs, forums, and committees, which will, as time goes on, take on more and more of an interracial character; and he should certainly not hesitate to offer himself as a candidate for election to his local school board, city council, or other public offices. Someone will lead, someone will represent, someone will help make decisions, and it is important that those someones be the best that the race can offer rather than the common variety of that self-centered species, *Americanus politicus*.

NEGRO PHYSICIANS

From personal observation and from discussion with members of your own profession and with others, I have concluded that the Negro medical profession as a whole, like its white counterpart, does not take quite as active a part in civic affairs as do the teachers, professors, college presidents, preachers, and lawyers. I do not mean to be over critical, and I hasten to say that I realize that there are those in this room and elsewhere who are notable exceptions to the general rule.

If I am right about the relatively low batting average of the medical

profession in civic affairs, I think I understand why this is so. The practice of medicine is a demanding, wearying task. You know what it is to go without sleep or recreation or relaxation with your families. You have been called out of church or movie or bridge party time and again because old man Jones had a sudden heart attack, or John Smith got smashed up in an automobile wreck, or Mrs. Brown's baby just wouldn't wait until a more convenient time to be born. Some of you have struggled to make a decent living with a clientele which one friend of mine described as "slow pay, po' pay, or no pay," and you have had to develop certain business sidelines to supplement your income. I certainly cannot blame any physician for thinking that the practice of medicine is itself a charitable enterprise and a sufficient contribution to human welfare.

Yes, there are many extenuating circumstances, but, after all, history does not ask "Why didn't you? but merely "Did you?" And so I suggest that all of us should ask ourselves a few questions: Am I ready to meet the challenge of the new trend toward integration in the schools and in other aspects of southern society? Am I ready to shake off the psychological effects of having lived for a long time in the ghetto of segregation? Am I keeping abreast of the times by wide reading and by personal contacts outside of my profession? Am I doing my full duty toward my community by participating in those activities which are crucial for the proper integration of the interests of Negro and white?

How, then, shall we meet the problems in the impending transition from segregation to integration? The eyes of the world are upon us, and what we do here in the South will have its weight in the struggle of the free world against the menace of totalitarianism. God grant that we shall act in a spirit of justice and cooperation and that we may establish a new charter of race relations which will make the next fifty years the brightest in the history of the South. We the people of the South, Negro and white, have known one another since the foundation of this nation. We have great spiritual resources, great capacities for friendship if we will only use them. When we are at our best, we are hard to beat. Surely this is a time when we need very much to be at our best.

DID YOU KNOW —

That Albert Murray of the English department at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, has a story, "The Luzana Cholly Kick," in the fourth Mentor selection of "New World Writing," published by the New American Library of World Literature?

Mr. Murray, who is currently on leave from Tuskegee, is a native of Mobile, Alabama, and was educated at Tuskegee and New York University. "The Luzana Cholly Kick" is part of a longer work, "The Briarpatch."

J. Edw. Bailey, Register & Tribune

NEWLY ORGANIZED COMMITTEE COUNCIL *of the Detroit, Michigan, branch meets to coordinate the work of the various branch committees. This committee is composed of chairmen of all branch standing committees, as follows (from left): Dr. Wayman Caliman, veterans; Mrs. Irene Graves, youth work, Mrs. Mabel Thornell, education; John Talley, church work; Edward Turner, branch president; Ernest Shell, chairman committee council; Arthur Johnson, executive secretary; William Oliver, youth work; and Atty. Horace Rodgers, legislation.* BOTTOM: *These delegates were in attendance at the very successful Region IV Leadership Training Conference held in Des Moines, Iowa, April* 10-12, 1953. *All sessions were held at the Willkie House in Des Moines.*

HULAN E. JACK

Borough President of Manhattan, N. Y.

Borough President Hulan E. Jack

HULAN E. JACK was elected on November 3, 1953, to the position of Borough President of Manhattan, the highest elective post ever held by a Negro in American municipal government.

Mr. Jack, Democratic assemblyman from the 14th Assembly District of New York County, has been a resident of New York City since 1923. He came to New York City as a boy of 16 from St. Lucia, British West Indies, thirty years ago. He is a graduate of the New York Evening High School, 1929; attended New York University, 1929-1932, majoring in business administration; and was elected state assemblyman from the 14th District in 1941. He has held this office ever since.

He has been in the forefront of the fight for liberal legislation on child care, housing, education and civil liberties; labor bills affecting the welfare of working men; legislation to end discrimination in employment; and bills to curb communism and subversive activities. Throughout his campaign for borough president, he stressed his intention to fight for all the people all the time. He constantly remarked in his campaign speeches that "No man was born to hate" and that "I would like to be the bridge over which my people can cross to obtain the same opportunities that have come to me."

Mr. Jack was employed for 15 years by the firm of Loeb, Allmayer & Redlich, and he is now vice-president of the Peerless Paper Box Company, Inc., of New York City. He is a member of the Grand Street Boys Association, the Paper Box Makers Union, Local 299 (AFL), the Paper Box Makers Association, St. Thomas the Apostle Roman Catholic Church, and president of the Apostle Holy Name Society.

In his position as borough president, Mr. Jack receives a $25,000 annual salary, has direct control over twenty-five appointive positions, and some 150 provisional jobs under his supervision.

Mr. Jack is married to Almira J. Wilkinson and has an 18-year-old son, Edwin Jack.

DID YOU KNOW —

That Boston, Massachusetts, had two ordained Negro ministers in 1830?

■ This short article mirrors a considerable segment of Negro opinion on the issue of integration

Lincoln, Wilberforce, and Integration

By Miles Mark Fisher

THERE must be satisfying interpretation of the facts that the trustees of The Lincoln University of Pennsylvania have decided to make their school interracial, to include a Department of African Affairs, to provide facilities for one thousand students, and to enlarge the faculty. Prophetic answers to queries like the following will point out the creative possibilities of this interracial program of Presbyterians.

Does the welfare of Negroes depend upon integration? Can Presbyterians make this program a modern example of their concern for all men? Whether or not the interracial program of Lincoln University of Pennsylvania is attributable to the adventurous spirit of Presbyterians, it does show that modern Presbyterians repudiate the contention that Negroes must expatriate themselves, possibly to Africa, to be free.

Throughout the eighteenth-century persons of many denominations defended the proposition that, since Negroes wanted to go to Africa, they should be sent there. Some people believed that Negroes could never be assimilated in the Americas. At the height of American missionary propaganda in 1816 Robert Finley, a Presbyterian minister, organized "The American Society for the colonizing of the Free People of Color of the United States." The Congregational minister, Samuel J. Mills, whose denomination was cooperating with the Presbyterians, was one of the two "missionaries" sent by the Society to the western coast of Africa to obtain an eligible colonial site. Presbyterians advocated schools to train American Negroes before they should return home. One such school was at Parsippany, New Jersey.

The Lincoln University continues through all these years its charter in 1854 and its opening for instruction two years later on December 31. Of its first twelve ordained ministers, five went to Africa. The whole experiment was named Ashmun Institute, memorializing a deceased governor of Liberia until 1866. Then

DR. MILES MARK FISHER *is pastor of the White Rock Baptist Church in Durham, North Carolina.*

its name was changed to honor a more popular colonizationist, "the illustrious patriot, statesman, and philanthropist, the beloved and lamented Abraham Lincoln."

It still circulates that American Negroes disfavored African colonization. The fact is that the black masses were thrilled every time they thought of being manumitted from slavery for African residence. Of the many "Ship of Zion," "Promised Land," "Room Enough," and "Chariot" spirituals which Negroes sang on this theme, their expectation to be transported home by the American Colonization Society was euphoniously and beautifully expressed in

> Swing low, sweet chariot,
> Coming for to carry me home.

In spite of this, the pastor of Bethel Negro Methodists around Philadelphia, Richard Allen, led free Negroes to protest against the Society. Since the spring of 1816 Bethel Methodists had elected him the first bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. The issue of the *Crisis* for July, 1937, states that Richard Allen was a militant anti-colonizationist.

THE ALLENITES

In 1863 Allenites started their educational program when they bought the defunct Wilberforce University, Xenia, Ohio, from the Methodist Episcopal Church. Because of this beginning of training for citizenship they demonstrated that Negroes need not leave the United States to be honored. Bishop D. A. Payne became the father of Negro education, which Negro churches continued, serving as the president of Wilberforce University for the first thirteen years of the Negro school. He developed a different emphasis from Lincoln University, dwelling upon independence, Negro, creativeness, and racialism.

Wilberforce was also academically different from Lincoln. In 1868 and 1869 preachers in the Wood River Baptist Association (Negro) in Illinois were searching for 'the best mode and place" to get a Doctor of Divinity degree. No American school had given a Negro a D.D., as the University of Heidelberg had conferred it upon James W. C. Pennington, able Presbyterian pastor of New York City. Payne decorated Negroes with degrees. He, himself, had Wilberforce's D.D. years before its first class was graduated in 1870. Independent Negro schools were subsequently promoted by every independent Negro denomination. Without the violence of Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner, Payne was saying too that Negroes were worthy of honor, respect, and esteem. In 1880 Lincoln University of Pennsylvania acknowledged the creativeness of the Right Reverend Doctor Daniel Alexander Payne and granted him a Doctor of Laws degree.

WILBERFORCE TRADITION

Since 1865 the black masses have disproportionately supported the Wilberforce tradition. Remarkable progress in the United States has been made by Negro beauticians, banks, dentists, doctors, firemen, insurance companies, lawyers, newspapers, policemen, politicians, preachers, printers, teachers, undertakers, and the like. Though no one needs to equate racialism with Christianity, racialism accounts for about all that

Negroes have achieved. They are organized for their welfare into groups like the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, the National Council of Negro Women, the National League on Urban Conditions among Negroes, the National Negro Business League, the National Negro Insurance Association, the National Negro Retail Merchants Association, and the United Negro College Fund.

Negro churches provide audience rooms for these and other organizations some of which are interracial, and all of them can provide integration under Negro leadership. The membership of Negro Protestant churches has recently been estimated as eight million people. Of this number only about one-half million Negroes belong to churches with European background of the Lincoln tradition, while seven and one-half million Negroes belong to the churches with African background of the Wilberforce tradition.

Will the future pattern of behavior for Negroes be cut out by Lincoln or by Wilberforce? It is to be hoped that Negro statesmen in many fields of endeavor have answers which will not disturb present job opportunities of Negroes and which will preserve their traditions.

DID YOU KNOW —

That Louis-Ferdinand Céline's notorious anti-Semitic novel, "Trifles for a Massacre" (1937) is also anti-Negro?

Dr. Destouches (1894-), who writes under the pen name of Céline, created a literary sensation in 1934 with the dismal realism of his first novel, "Journey to the End of the Night." In "Trifles for a Massacre" Céline claims that "the Jew is a Negro . . . the end product of a cross between Negroes and Asiatic barbarians." (pp. 191-92).

★ ★ ★

That Joao da Cruz e Sousa (1861-1898), Brazil's greatest symbolist poet, was taught mathematics and natural science by the famous German scholar Fritz Müller?

Müller, a friend of Charles Darwin and Ernst Haeckel, always regarded Cruz e Sousa as my "beloved pupil." Cruz e Sousa, an unmixed Negro, was born at Desterro (Florianópolis) in the state of Santa Catarina.

★ ★ ★

That the painting "Bethseba at the Fountain" of Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) includes a handsome Negro page boy?

■ **This man came to be recognized as one of Philadelphia's most distinguished citizens**

Richard Allen: Founder of a Church*

By Langston Hughes

EVEN in bondage, religion was a comfort that could not be denied a slave. In fact, some slave owners used Christianity as an excuse for their enslaving of the African "heathen" in order, so they said, to save his soul. But once saved, they often made it difficult for him to worship God. Richard Allen, one of Negro America's first great ministers, was born a slave about 1760 in Philadelphia. He was sold while still a child to a planter in Delaware. As a young man he became a Methodist preacher and, with his master's permission, held religious services on the farm. His eloquence and sincerity were so great that he converted even his master. During the Revolutionary War Richard Allen earned money as a wagon driver and, by 1777, he had saved enough to purchase his freedom. He was twenty-six when he returned to Philadelphia to live as a free man.

Allen's gift of pulpit oratory and mass leadership was such that many people were atracted to his prayer meetings. There was no Methodist congregation in Philadelphia in those days composed entirely of Negroes, so young Richard joined the St. George Church, which some free and some slave colored people attended. At times he was even permitted to preach at St. George's. On such occasions Negro attendance at the church increased greatly—in fact, to such an extent that the officials suggested that colored worshippers be segregated. Some of the white members objected strongly to Allen's preaching, and some did not wish any Negroes in their church at all. One Sunday while Richard Allen and two friends, Absolom Jones and William White, were bowed in prayer, they were rudely interrupted by an usher, who literally snatched them from their knees and told them in no

LANGSTON HUGHES *is the well-known poet, novelist, and essayist.*

* A chapter from the forthcoming Dodd, Mead book *Famous American Negroes*, by Langston Hughes, to be published in the spring of 1954.

uncertain words that their presence was unwelcome. It was then that Allen, with the help of Jones, founded the Free African Society, a religious and civic organization that led to the formation of Bethel Methodist Episcopal Church, dedicated in Philadelphia in 1794 as a place where Negroes might worship in peace .

DANGEROUS REQUEST

The year before this church was dedicated, a great epidemic of yellow fever spread with such rapidity throughout the city of Philadelphia that there were not enough doctors or nurses to attend the sick, and the dead were often left unburied. Since white people thought that Negroes did not seem to be dying of the disease in such great numbers as whites, and since many whites fled the city or were afraid to go near the ill or dead, a printed call was issued to the Negro citizens to attend the sick and bury the dead. Those who were slaves, of course, were forced to do this. But free Negroes were angered that such an unusual and dangerous request should be specifically directed to colored people. A public meeting was called and Richard Allen and Absolom Jones, both being respected ministers, were appealed to for advice. After prayer and deep consultation, it was agreed that it was the duty of all Christians to help in the emergency as much as they could, so a committee of colored people called upon the mayor to offer their services to the city without reservation.

The Negroes of Philadelphia in large numbers went into white homes as nurses and aids. They tended the dying. They buried neglected corpses. A great physician of that day, Dr. Benjamin Rush, enlisted Allen and Jones as his special assistants. He quickly instructed them as to how to care for the disease and administer medicines, for many white doctors had died, others were exhausted, and some had taken their families—and themselves—away. There was panic in the city. No well person wanted to go near the sick, for fear of contagion. Without the ministration of the colored citizens, the dreaded plague might have decimated almost the entire population.

Nevertheless, when the siege was over, a white citizen, Mathew Carey, wrote *A Short Account of the Malignant Fever Lately Prevalent in Philadelphia* in which he praised Allen and Jones. But he asserted that on the whole the Negroes should have done much more, and also that some had profited financially by their labors. He singled out only the Negro citizens for such censure. Mathew Carey, it developed, had himself left the city at the height of the epidemic, while Allen, Jones, and most of the members of their churches had remained. During the plague some three hundred Negroes died. In answer to Mathew Carey, Allen and Jones wrote a reply setting forth the true facts under the title, *A Narrative of the Proceeding of the Black People during the late Awful Calamity in Philadelphia,* in which they gave a listing of all monies received which, they said, had been less than enough to pay for the coffins bought and the labor hired. They related in detail their services, and stated how through religion they had "found the freedom to go forth, confiding in Him who can preserve in the midst of a burn-

ing furnace," for, they wrote: "The Lord was pleased to strengthen us, and remove all fear from us, and dispose our hearts to be as useful as possible." Certainly the Mayor and the City Council felt that the Negro citizens of Philadelphia had contributed greatly to the alleviation of the common distress during the terrible plague, for they drew up a resolution formally thanking them for their services.

COLORED METHODISTS

Richard Allen's fame as a minister and civic leader spread. And the Negro Methodists, under his leadership, grew rapidly in numbers. Mother Bethel, as his church was known, prospered. By 1820, there were over four thousand colored Methodists in Philadelphia. And churches of that faith under African Methodist Episcopal auspices had been established as far west as Pittsburgh and as far south as Charleston, South Carolina. But the great Denmark Vesey slave rebellion in Charleston in 1822 checked the spread of separate Negro churches in the South. The slave masters feared the unity which such congregations helped to develop among both free and slave Negroes. Colored ministers were imprisoned and slaves whipped for going to church. And in Virginia in 1830, after Nat Turner had led another slave uprising there, all Negro preachers were silenced by law. Nevertheless, Christians continued to hold meetings in woods, in cabins, and, sometimes when gatherings of any kind were strictly prohibited, a man or woman would worship alone where, as the spiritual says:

Way down yonder by myself,
I couldn't hear nobody pray.

Slave owners had good reason to fear the rise of a Negro church. They were beginning to realize that the old slave song they heard in the fields:

Go down, Moses,
And tell old Pharoah
To let my people go. . . .

was not just a song about the Israelites, but a cry of freedom born on the weary lips of enslaved men and women in their very midst. Out of the Negro churches then, and ever since, have come many distinguished leaders, ranging from Prince Hall who, about the time of the Boston Tea Party, established a church in Cambridge and became the founder of Freemasonry among Negroes, to Adam Powell, now pastor of Abyssinia Baptist Church (the world's largest congregation of that faith) and a member of Congress from New York.

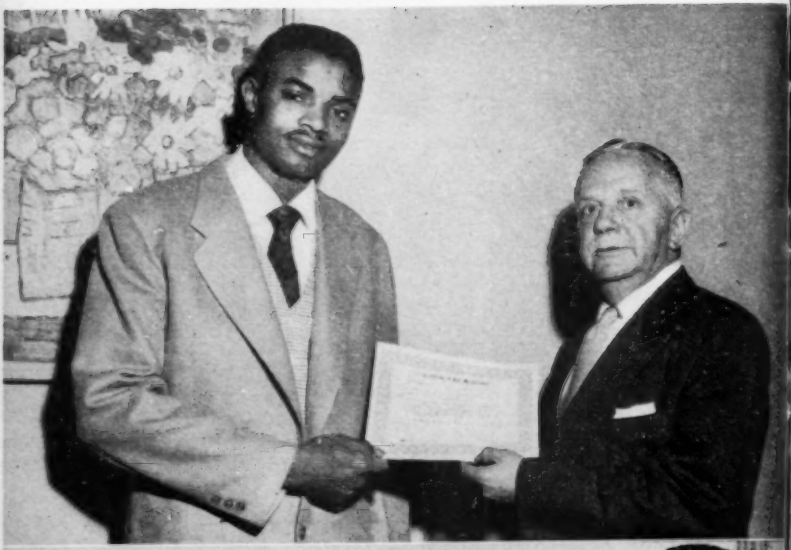
VERSATILE LEADER

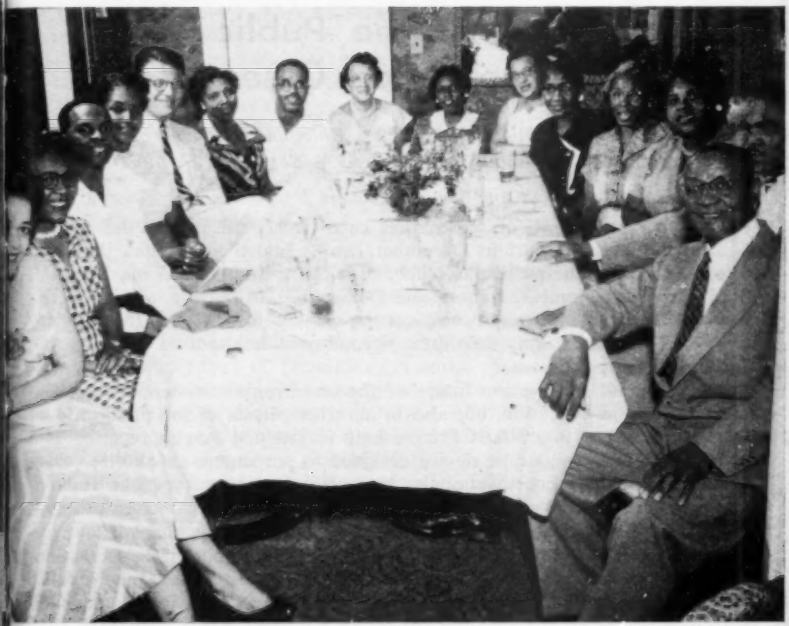
Richard Allen became a bishop of the church he had founded. But his activities extended far beyond his own faith. As the leader of the Free African Society he drew up many petitions calling for the abolition of slavery. He was a contributor to *Freedom's Journal*, America's first Negro newspaper. Under Allen's leadership three thousand Negroes met in Philadelphia in 1817 to register their opposition to the plans of the American Colonization Society to repatriate free colored peoples to Africa as a solution for the race problems of America. When some white proponents of colonization even went so far as to seize free

(*Continued on page* 639)

MEMBERS *of the Odgen, Utah, youth council at a carnival sponsored by the group at the Odgen Community Center. Youth council advisor Mrs. L. V. Davis is first from left in third row.*

THE BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS, BRANCH *inaugurated its membership drive with the assistance of Governor Christian A. Herter (R), seated center. Others in the picture are (seated, from left) Mrs. Bennett and branch president Lionel Lindsay; standing, membership chairman Ed Brooks and Kivie Kaplan.* BOTTOM: *Harriet McKissick (right), a worker in the Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, branch membership campaign hands little Beverly Vaughn her NAACP membership application. Smiling approval are her parents Mr. and Mrs. Postelle Vaughn. This makes the whole Vaughn family NAACP members.*





SOCIAL FRIENDLINESS AND BUSINESS *was combined in this first meeting of the executive committee of the Wisconsin State Conference of NAACP Branches held in the home of conference president Mrs. Ardie Halyard (8th from left), Milwaukee, on August 1, 1953.*

WALTER WHITE, NAACP *executive secretary, presents Hansel C. Hall (left), young Air Force veteran of the Korean war, a certificate for life membership in the Association. Mr. Hall, who lives in Gary, is the second Indianian to become a life member of the Association. His predecessor was the late Wendell Willkie.* BOTTOM: *Attorney Herbert Cain (second from right) presents a $50 check from the Philadelphia Guardsmen to Charles Shorter (left), executive secretary of the Philadelphia branch. Atty. Cain's check from the Guardsmen, of which he is president, is earmarked for the NAACP "EE Fund." Other Guardsmen watching the presentation are John Lloyd (right) and Walter Sullivan.*

Implications of the Public School Segregation Cases

Comments of NAACP board chairman Dr. Channing H. Tobias on the public school segregation cases argued before the U. S. Supreme Court in December.

THE five public school segregation cases re-argued before the United States Supreme Court in December involve much more than the issue of segregation in the particular school districts in South Carolina, Virginia, the District of Columbia, Kansas, and Delaware. Technically, of course, the Court will render its decision only on the cases before it. But the implications of the Court's ruling extend far beyond considerations of what is to be done in these specific cases.

At ultimate stake is the future of the anachronistic system of segregation not only in education, but also in all other phases of the public life of the nation. We of the NAACP have long maintained that segregation is a divisive and anti-democratic device designed to perpetuate an obsolete caste system which flatly contravenes the basic ethical concepts of our Judaeo-Christian tradition. We have held that segregation *per se* is unconstitutional. Should the Court uphold this point of view it could mean that all laws requiring or permitting racial segregation in schools, transportation, recreation, shelter, and public accommodations, generally, would ultimately be invalid.

When Thurgood Marshall and the other NAACP lawyers associated with him addressed the nine justices of the country's highest tribunal, they argued the merits of the cases before the court. But implicit in their argument was the challenge to the validity of all legislation which separates one American from another on the totally irrelevant basis of race, color, religion or national origin. They contended, at least by implication, that integration cannot be a halfway measure. Our Nation cannot remain half-integrated and half-segregated today any more than it could continue half-free and half-slave a century ago. . . .

THE importance the NAACP attaches to these cases is demonstrated by the extensive research our legal department undertook in preparation for the argument. Mr. Marshall secured the cooperation of more than 130 lawyers, law professors, historians, and other social scientists in digging up every related fact in connection with this paramount issue. Never before has such an array of scholarship and talent been assembled to prepare for a civil rights case. . . .

Likewise the advocates of continued segregation were aware of the significance of these cases. To argue the Clarendon county case, the State of South Carolina retained the services of John W. Davis, the eminent con-

stitutional lawyer. . . . They had also the attorneys general of their respective states and private lawyers to represent them at the expense of the taxpayers, Negro as well as white. . . .

The Department of Justice assigned a staff under the direction of an assistant attorney general to prepare the government's argument. . . .

If the Court decides that segregation *per se* is unconstitutional it will not mean the overnight liquidation of jim crow. It will, however, herald the beginning of the end of this antiquated system. The end will not come until the last jim crow sign is removed from the most backward community in the nation. But come it will.

WE are not in the least dismayed by the threats of Governors James F. Byrnes of South Carolina and Herman Talmadge of Georgia to abandon the public school system rather than have it democratized. We have greater faith in the common sense and fundamental decency of southern white people than do these two governors. We do not believe that they would rather have their children grow up in ignorance than have them taught in the same classrooms with Negro children. Nor do we foresee any of the dire consequences which the prophets of doom always predict whenever traditional mores are changed.

The admission of Negro students to graduate and professional schools of publicly financed universities in 12 southern and border states occasioned no untoward incident. Indeed, it led to the breakdown of color bars in several private institutions in the region. Nor was there widespread bloodshed following the abolition of the "white primary" in the South as predicted.

The South is more mature than some of its spokesmen would have us believe. There is mounting evidence that a constantly growing segment of southern whites is ready to accept the end of segregation. Editorial comment in the southern press indicates a desire to comply with the Court's ruling and rejection of the Byrnes-Talmadge proposal to abandon the public school system. Church groups, units of the organized labor movement, students, youth organizations, and others in the South, of both races, have gone on record as opposed to the continuation of segregation.

AS our lawyers argued for an integrated, democratic public school system, they had the practically solid support of Negroes in all sections of the country, as well as the endorsement of the most enlightened elements of all races and faiths in all parts of the country. . . . Against them was arrayed the spokesmen for the most benighted elements in the country, the professional hate-mongers, the timid souls who always fear change, the reactionaries who continue to look backward to the Nineteenth Century, the weak and insecure who dread the possibility of meeting other groups in free and open competition. . . .

In fighting to eliminate segregation in public school education, the NAACP is fighting to strengthen American democracy.

Looking and Listening . . .

NEW YORK HOUSING

WE offer below excerpts from the address of Right Rev. Msgr. Cornelius J. Drew, pastor of St. Charles Borremeo Church of West 141st Street, Manhattan, delivered at the Communion Breakfast of the Brooklyn Catholic Interracial Council on October 18:

A serious situation in our City today is housing, next to providing enough fairly-priced food, it is our most important problem. We will leave to the experts and they will report to the politicians the answers to: Washington's share in subsidized housing; who are eligible for low and middle cost housing; effective handling of violations; rent increases, etc. What we are thinking of is more basic, the equal right of every citizen, regardless of race, creed or color, to live where he wishes as long as he is not trespassing on the rights of others.

That is the most present, most serious, most important challenge to the democracy of our country and of our Church. If we are to feel rightly proud of America, if we are in conscience to ask our young people to risk their lives for it, it must not be on the basis of our material prosperity, nor our larger share of creative comforts—these things are too transitory—nor do they satisfy man's complete nature, for his spiritual soul is superior to his mortal body, "Not in bread alone doth man live but in every word which proceedeth from the Mouth of God." We must be sure that our nation rests on the eternal principles on which it was founded by our forefathers, which has made it great in the grateful hearts of those who in the almost two centuries of its existence found here a land of opportunity. "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." "We, the people of the United States in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity do ordain and establish this constitution." Unless we are willing to scrap these historic doctrines, which to us and to millions all over the world are hopes for happiness on this earth; unless we are determined to amend them, by inserting "except for Negroes, Puerto Ricans"—or any minority we do not happen to favor at the time—let us close our ranks to do a better, a vital and needed work in our community.

More than one section in Brooklyn is now in the throes of transition. Due to higher education, better jobs, increased incomes, more Negroes are leaving the slums to live in better neighborhoods. Sometimes even the rumor of their coming has resulted in an exodus of the white as much as the housing shortage allows. And, what is worse, tensions develop between old timers and the newcomers. The former speak of an invasion which drove them out and made their property worthless.

Such conduct and talk are neither intelligent nor honest. The newcomers are Americans who have equal rights to

live in decent environments. . . . The American Negroes even after emancipation were left in economic slavery. They were deprived of the chance to make progress since they were denied equal education, equal work opportunities and compelled to live in slum ghettoes as undersirable second class citizens.

We, the children of the Irish and the Italian immigrants, should show a great sympathy for the Negroes in their efforts to better themselves. What was thought and said about our forefathers when they arrived? They weren't wanted, there were no jobs for them, no decent dwellings. They were described in official reports as ignorant of basic hygiene, lazy loafers and thieves who filled the courts and jails. We know that these indictments were unjust, based on prejudice or misunderstanding, and opposed to the open door policy which has been a chief contribution to our phenomenal development as a nation.

Why should we be guilty of the same cruel injustice now that we are established? We have come a long way in a century, not only because our ancestors had ambition to improve their children's chances, but also because they got the chance to do so. Would it not be the only fair, human, American, Christ-like thing to do, to do unto them as we would want others to do to us.

There is a presumption in favor of the newcomer that he will prove a good neighbor. He has the right spirit in trying to bring up his children in a better neighborhood. He must get a good salary and be a steady worker, to be able to save up enough to move into this better neighborhood. It is foolish, as well as wrong, not to remain long enough to discover that he and his family are not undesirable or inferior.

No one is being driven out, prejudice is producing a panic; that is why people run away, obsessed by fear of the unknown. But, we will never know others until we live alongside of them. What guarantee have we that the new neighborhood to which we turn for a place to reside is immune from strangers of one kind or another, in the near futurre? What a price to pay for the folly of prejudice!

Who has caused the depreciation of property? Not the newcomer; he paid a high price to get in. Only because the old timer was in such a hurry to vacate, did the real estate man dare to offer him such a pittance. But, you may be sure he did not sell it to the new owner as cheaply. Landlords are holding their property in Harlem as they get much more in rentals from the Negro tenants, over-crowded into ancient buildings in need of repairs.

The opposition will make many false statements that can be contradicted; they have nothing but appeals to passions. But emotion can blow cold as well as hot. If we really believe not only in the truth but the practicality of our position, we will not be turned from the task by its difficulties and inconveniences. . . .

FOREIGN POLICY

THE Department of International Justice and Goodwill of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A. approved, among other resolutions, a resolution on racial tensions and foreign policy at the National Study Conference on the Churches and World Order held in Cleveland, Ohio, October 27-30.

The resolution reads as follows:

Racial discrimination and segregation in the West, and particularly in the United States, has become a powerful factor in world affairs. Segregation and discrimination in churches, in employment, in housing, in the right to express one's political views and in public service undercut our moral position

among the darker-skinned peoples of Asia and Africa. As American Christians we must do everything in our power to eliminate discrimination, both in our churches and in society at large. We also urge agencies of the United States government, of philanthrophy and of religion to make their staffs racially inclusive both at home and abroad. While significant progress has been made in eliminating segregation in the United States and in the employment of minority groups in operations abroad, we have a long way to go before even the minimum requirements of democratic heritage are fulfilled.

LOCAL FEPCS

ACCORDING to the October 1953 issue of *Labor Reports*, thirty American cities now have FEPC with the adoption of fair employment practices ordinances in Clairton, Pennsylvania, and Duluth, Minnesota.

The Clairton ordinance, which was passed in April of this year, is regarded as one of the best of its kind. It has broad coverage, applying to all public and private businesses with one or more employees. Violations are punishable by fines up to $100, and an FEP Commission has been set up with power to investigate, adjust, and rule on complaints of discrimination. Clairton is the sixth city in Pennsylvania to enact such an ordinance.

The Duluth ordinance, which was passed in June, applies to the city and its departments, divisions and bureaus, and to private businesses with two or more employees. Although the ordinance provides for a five member, non-salaried Commission on Job Discrimination charged with carrying out the purposes and terms of the ordinance, it fails to provide the Commission with the legal means of enforcement. Duluth is the second city in Minnesota to ban employment discrimination.

JOB BIAS

THE Committee of the South of the National Planning Association reports that job bias has not changed much in the upper South since 1938. In the few instances where white and Negroes do the same work in the same plant they receive the same pay and fringe benefits. There are a few instances where Negroes have been moved into jobs previously held by whites, as in South Carolina, but Negroes are completely excluded from white-collar jobs in white managed concerns. Negro workers have scarcely a toehold in supervisory jobs and Negro foremen were found in only three companies, one in tobacco and one in textiles.

"Working foremen" were found in one other large textile concern, and a fairly large number of Negro leadmen and straw bosses were reported elsewhere. Nevertheless the great majority of Negro workers covered by the survey were directly supervised by whites. In no case did Negroes work over whites in the chain of command.

Whereas unions had succeeded in gaining higher wages, personal security, and better working conditions for both white and Negro workers, these favorable conditions have made the work more attractive for white workers and thereby reduced the incentive of employers to introduce Negro work groups.

* * * *

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

Experts Help: More than 130 experts worked all summer and fall with the NAACP legal department in preparation of the briefs submitted in the re-argument of the public school segregation cases before the United States Supreme Court in December, Arthur B. Spingarn, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, explained on October 29.

Mr. Spingarn's statement was in response to an article in *The New York Times* of October 27 in which Arthur Krock of the newspaper's Washington bureau alleged that "the Department of Justice . . . is doing all the research work for those who hold" that segregation in public education violates the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. The Krock article went on to report what the Department of Justice and the attorneys for the states were doing by way of preparing for the case.

The omission of any mention of the work being done by the NAACP lawyers, Mr. Spingarn said, "cannot help but give the impression" that they are "not doing anything on the cases or the work they are doing is so unimportant as not to be worth mentioning." As a matter of fact the entire NAACP legal staff gave up vacations in order to work on the constitutional questions raised by the Supreme Court.

"While we do not wish to detract from the work being done by the United States Department of Justice and the lawyers representing the several states," Mr. Spingarn asserted, "we believe mention should have been made of work being done by others. The truth of the matter is that the lawyers representing the Negro school children in the five cases involved have been continuously working on these cases since June 8.

"They have organized a large group of more than 130 experts including lawyers, law professors, historians, political scientists, sociologists, economists and anthropologists who have been working on a voluntary basis throughout the summer and fall. Many of these men and women, of both races, are from the faculties of such universities as Columbia, Fisk, Harvard, Chicago, Howard, John Hopkins, Lincoln, Wisconsin and Yale. The lawyers working on the cases include men and women from 34 states. This research has been completed and is now being used by the lawyers preparing for the re-argument."

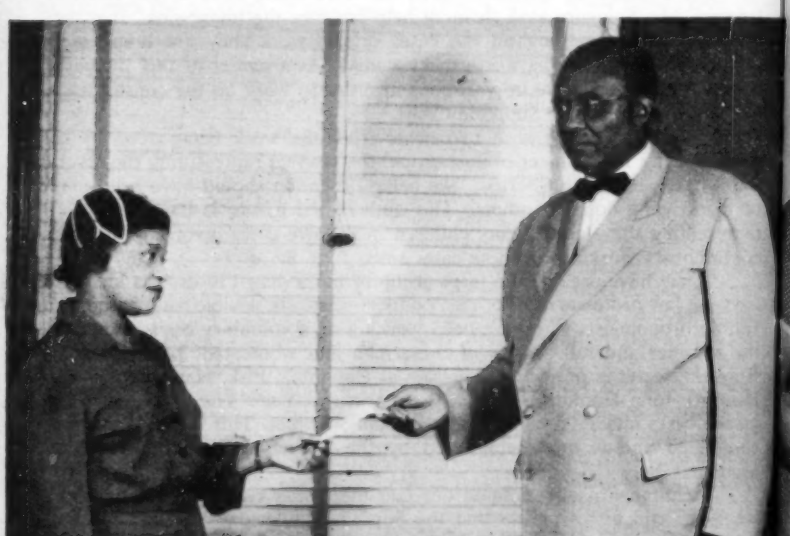
Mr. Spingarn also pointed out that the *Times* columnist was incorrect when he said in his article that the Supreme Court had put no time limit for the filing of briefs. The rules of the Court the NAACP official pointed out, require filing of briefs on behalf of parties appealing from lower court decisions three weeks before the case is called for hearing. Lawyers on the

other side must file at least one week before the argument.

Christmas Seals: Lena Horne, the glamorous stage and screen star, is again serving as chairman of the Christmas seal campaign of the Association. The proceeds from the sale of the seals at a dollar for a sheet of 100 are used to help the NAACP in its overall drive for full citizenship rights for all Americans.

In a letter sent out to 125,000 individuals throughout the country, Miss Horne cites the Association's "enviable record of performance in behalf of justice and equality over a period of 44 years." Further, she points out, 'our job will not end with the banning of segregation by court ruling, executive order or legislation. We have a continuing educational job to do to make non-segregation a working reality. Our ultimate goal is an America of equality, opportunity, justice, freedom and security for every human being."

The NAACP, Miss Horne says, needs the support of every freedom loving American, all of whom she asks to join her "in purchasing as many NAACP Christmas seals as possible to help us continue our program."



REVEREND MR. J. A. JORDON, *president of the Indianapolis, Indiana, branch pictured with Mrs. Ollie Weeks, chairman of the branch executive committee.*

With the talented singer and actress as chairman of the campaign, the NAACP last year netted $38,000 from the sale of Christmas seals. This was the largest sum realized from this source in the 27 years that the campaign has been conducted.

Contributions: The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, CIO, led the list of contributors to the NAACP "Fighting Fund for Freedom" in October with a gift of $1,000. In a letter to Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the NAACP board of directors, Jacob S. Potofsky, the union's general president, said: "The NAACP is doing a magnificent job to end discrimination and intolerance."

Total contributions for the week of October 18 amounted to $2,301, with $200 coming from the North Carolina Teachers Association; $175 from the Merced, Calif., NAACP branch; and $100 each from branches in Richmond, Calif., Indianapolis, Raleigh, N. C., and New Brunswick, N. J.

Other gifts include $54, St. John Baptist church of South Bend, Ind., $51, South Bend branch; $50 each, John Gorvers Co., Lynn, Mass., Enid, Okla., branch and the Fort Smith, Ark., branch; $35, Mt. Vernon, Ala.,

1952 MEMBERSHIP AWARD WINNERS *of the New Castle, Pennsylvania, branch. From left, Mrs. Modelia Clark, William Wooten, and Mrs. Carrie Cobbs.*

branch; $30, Chillicothe, Mo., branch; and $25 each from branches in Crawford county, Kansas, Gary, Ind., Flushing and Elmira, N. Y., and Local No. 9 of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, South Bend; $13, the District of Columbia branch; $10 each, Local No. 917, International Union of Electrical Workers, CIO, Hartman Builders and Newman-Altman Auto Dealers, all of South Bend.

Also from South Bend, $5 each, Our Day Together Club, St. Pierre Ruffiin Club, James Robertson, and Dr. Simms; $4, Dr. Love, Sr., $3, John A. Gonas; and $1 each, Mrs. Sam Rowe and Dr. Love, Jr. Also, $3 each, John W. DeSane, East Elmhurst, N. Y. and W. McNab, Brooklyn; $2, Amityville, N. Y., branch and $1, J. B. Turner of Los Angeles.

Rose Morgan Party: More than $5,000 was raised at a cocktail party for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund in the beautiful home of Rose Morgan in St. Albans, N. Y., in October. Miss Morgan, nationally known business woman made her home available for the occasion and introduced Thurgood Marshall, the Fund's director and counsel.

After Mr. Marshall recounted the legal efforts to break down segregation and the vast sums required to carry on this work, Herbert T. Miller appealed to the guests for contributions to help finance the public school segregation cases argued before the United States Supreme Court in December.

In response to this appeal an anonymous contributor gave $1,000. There were $500 contributions by Dr. and Mrs. Ernest R. Alexander, Mr. and Mrs. Harry Friedman, Neil Scott, Dr. C. M. Reid and Lionel de Silva. Earles and Earles, Inc., gave $125. Contributions of $100 each were made by Dr. Clarence Q. Pair, C. D. King and the sales force of the United Mutual Life Insurance Company through Ralph Parsons. Fifty dollar contributions were made by Mr. and Mrs. William Hudgins, W. D. Hicks and Doctors Alma Haskins, George Dockery and James Parker, Sr., of Red Bank, N. J.

The following gave $25 each: Barnet Ginsberg, John W. Johnson, Mr. and Mrs. P. Albert Dade, Mr. and Mrs. A. B. Wright, Atlanta; Dr. Frank C. Johnson, Mrs. Brett Howard, Rudolph J. Thomas, Mrs. Ernesta G. Bowman, Mr. and Mrs. Christopher Pryor, Jr., Benjamin Starr, Hulan Jack, Mrs. Marguerite Bynum, William P. Grayson, Arthur R. Williams, Grant's Employment Agency, New York chapter, Morris Brown college alumni, Leopold Altman, Dr. Richard Carey, Mr. and Mrs. George A. Sealey, Sr., Mr. and Mrs. Irving A. Baker, Mrs. Sallye B. Walker, Dr. Marcus Carpenter, Dr. James Jones.

Mr. and Mrs. Reginald A. Johnson, Frederick Weaver, and Louis Saunders of Jersey City each gave $20. Ten dollar contributors included Iris H. Potts, Grace Outlaw, William C. Raines, Mr. and Mrs. Potts, Dr. and Mrs. Alphonse Henningburg, Dr. Jesse Miller, and Mr. and Mrs. Joe Bostic.

Other contributors were Mr. and Mrs. Harold R. Weaver, Dr. and Mrs. Arthur R. Thomas, Commissioner William Rowe, Dr. and Mrs. Anthony, Mrs. Ruby Nicholas, Major Robinson, Dr. Kenneth McClane, Mrs. Altonell

Mathews, Mrs. Anne Smith, William Glover, Marjorie Costa and Thelma Bell.

Detroit Contributions: Contributions totaling $1,480.00 were made on November 12 to the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., by twenty Detroit citizens to be applied to the segregation school cases argued before the United States Supreme Court.

The contributions were made through the efforts of Dr. James J. McClendon. Individual checks, ranging from $10 to $250, were collected by him and forwarded to Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel and Legal Defense Director.

Specific instructions were given that the gifts be applied to the cost of the cases argued in the high court, December 7.

Making the contributions were: Drs. McClendon, W. H. M. Johnson, F. P. Rainford, M. E. Fowler, D. T. Burton, Ralston S. Mitchell, Guy O. Saulsberry, J. B. Greene, I. L. Whitby, and Wilbur Martin.

Also Drs. C. W. Preston, Robert Greenidge, H. F. Bradford, J. J. Rucker, J. B. Martin and Walter C. Willis; Bishop George W. Baber, C. A. Howell, Earl H. Davis and Joseph Nance.

Other Branch Contributions: Following an address by Walter White, executive secretary of the Association, a collection of $4,739.16 was taken up at the closing mass meeting of the 10th annual convention of the North Carolina Conference of NAACP branches in Rocky Mount. In response to an appeal by Kelly Alexander, president of the North Carolina NAACP, the audience of more than 800 contributed this sum to the NAACP "Fighting Fund for Freedom."

Other contributions to the fund received from NAACP branches include $500, Oklahoma City; $400, Knoxville, Tenn.; $100, Hartford, Conn.; $75, Denver; $50.70, Peekskill, N. Y.; $50 each, Kenner, La., and Colorado Springs, Colo.; $40.30, Yuma, Ariz.; $25 each Muskegon, Mich., Newport, R. I., and St. Charles Parish, La. Also $50 Dr. Bryon Briscoe, Oklahoma City; $42.70, First Baptist church, Englewood, N. J.; and $10, Dr. Matthew Walker, Meharry Medical college, Nashville, Tenn.

Other contributions to the "Fighting Fund for Freedom" include $50 each from Nolan Jones, Edward Conant, and Ashley Kirkland, all of Melrose, La., L. D. Jones and Emitte Roques of Natchez, La. and Dr. E. A. Johnson of Natchitoches, La.; and Randolph Jones, Natchitoches, $25.

Also from NAACP branches in Camden, N. J., $200; Syracuse, N. Y., $151; Willow Run, Mich., $116.50; Montclair, N. J., $66; Massillon, Ohio, $60; Saline Co., Mo., and Jennings, La., $50 each; Saratoga Springs, N. Y., $32.65; Maywood, Ill., $31.25; Mount Holly, S. C., Warren, Ohio, Kalamazoo, Mich., and New Orleans $25 each; Owensboro, Ky., and Campbell, Ohio, $10 each; Caroline Co., Va., $6.40.

Also from Mrs. Cecilia C. Saunders, New York City, and Mrs. Eric F. Burch, Dallas, Texas, $5 each; and Lt. Tolbot, Fort Bliss, Texas, $2.

What the Branches Are Doing

California: In a two hour long hearing in LOS ANGELES on October 8 before the Board of Fire Commissioners, lawyers for the NAACP, the American Civil Liberties Union and witnesses presented findings from an investigation and legal opinions of numerous federal and lower courts in an attack on the practice of racial segregation and discrimination in the Los Angeles fire department.

Cited in the hearing by NAACP field secretary Lester P. Bailey were the two all-Negro manned stations on South Central Avenue which he said "present the only opportunities for Negroes in the Los Angeles fire department." The NAACP official pointed out that Negroes are excluded from appointments at 85 other fire stations throughout the city. He also charged that promotions of Negro personnel correspond to a discriminatory pattern with the few positions available at the all-Negro companies.

Information that the NAACP has discovered that two Negro firemen who, according to Mr. Bailey, "are from all appearances white," were assigned to "white" stations until their identity came to light, visibly shocked the fire commissioners who had interrupted the testimony at points to offer rebuttal.

When Fire Chief John H. Alderson came before the hearing, the commissioners refused to permit the lawyers to question him. The chief, who has been charged with masterminding the segregation, made a brief statement that his practices are for the "good of the service."

After Attorneys Thomas G. Nuesom, Herbert Simmons, Edward Maddox and Al Wirin had presented the legal, moral and sociological factors involved the commissioners closed the hearings with the statement that they would "give the matter consideration."

Attorney Simmons warned the board that the NAACP would await their decision for what he described as a "reasonable period of time." After that, the lawyer promised to "seek remedy in the proper court."

Plaintiffs named on the petition filed with the commission are Mrs. Jack Hardy, George Thomas, executive director of the Los Angeles county conference on community relations; Dr. E. I. Robinson, local NAACP president; Dr. H. Claude Hudson, president of the Broadway Federal Savings and Loan Association, vice-president of the local NAACP and member of the NAACP national board of directors; and Allen C. Woodard, III.

In addition to lawyers Maddox, Simmons, and Nuesome, attorneys Loren Miller and Everette M. Porter are associate counsel in the complaint.

The community of PASADENA supports the current school fight against segregation. Speaking to a capacity audience at Pasadena's Metropolitan Baptist church in October, Franklin H. Williams, secretary-counsel of the West

Coast NAACP, warned the local board of education that recent action taken by this body supporting segregation of Negro and white children in the Pasadena public schools is "in violation of the letter of the constitution of the state of California and the United States."

Mr. Williams stated that Pasadena has a long record of opposing any move to bring the practices in the school system into line with American democratic concepts of fair-play and equality. He specifically referred to the incidents leading up to the dismissal of Willard Goslin, and the poor reputation Pasadena has gained as a result.

He declared that "the NAACP stands prepared to fight all the way to the highest court in the land to wipe out racial segregation in the elementary and secondary schools here."

The two schools in issue are the all-white Arroyo Seco school and the predominately Negro Garfield school. White parents residing in the Garfield district have been permitted to transfer their children to Arroyo Seco leaving a number of classrooms vacant at Garfield. The Arroyo school became considerably overcrowded and funds to the amount of $15,000 were appropriated by the board of education to build new units at the all-white school.

The NAACP has ordered its legal staff to contest the appropriation and the transfer system. The audience at Metropolitan Baptist church contributed more than $500 to back up the action. Other speakers at the mass meeting were Dr. I. B. English, local NAACP president, and Lester P. Bailey, field secretary.

Field Secretary Lester P. Bailey is going to investigate the presence of separate schools for Negro and white children maintained in Riverside and El Centro. This action is the outcome of the southern area council NAACP meeting held in Riverside in October.

The delegates also approved a goal of $10,000 for the annual holiday seal drive which began on October 25. Funds derived from stamp sales will be used to underwrite the southern area and national programs of the Association.

Christmas Seal Drive: Regional secretary Franklin H. Williams has announced the Association goal of $30,000 for the NAACP freedom drive. The drive started with a good "kick-off" receipt of more than $1,800 from the sunshine committee of Past Matrons and Patrons Council of the Order of Eastern Star, Prince Hall Affiliation.

The committee under the leadership of Estelle Van Meter reported a total sum of $1,886.95 as a result of their solicitation for the purchase of NAACP Freedom seals. Most of the money reported had been contributed by Los Angeles churches and chapters of the Eastern Star and Prince Hall Masons.

The regional office of the NAACP issued the following breakdown of contributors: Grants Chapel, Neighborhood Community church, Peoples Independent Church of Christ, Zion Hill Baptist church, Tabernacle of Faith Baptist church, Greater First Baptist church, Victory Baptist church, Macedonia Baptist church, Triumph Church and Kingdom of God In Christ, Light House Full Gospel Pentecostal church, First AME Church, St. John's Methodist church, Faithful Central Baptist church, Village Baptist church, Wards Chapel, Grace Memorial church, Church of Christian Fellowship, Westminister Presbyterian church, Walker Temple, McCoy Memorial Baptist church, Trinity Baptist church. Other contributions were solicited from individuals and chapters of the Masonic Order and Eastern Stars.

Contributions through the sunshine committee of the Past Matrons Council of the Eastern Star, Prince Hall Affiliates, reported through Mrs. Velva L. Henderson, chairman of the Christmas seal campaign, are as follows:

Mrs. Van Meter, in addition to soliciting funds from several church groups in the city reported the following contributions: St. John Lodge, No. 5, F & A M, $12.00; B. F. Talbot Lodge Lodge No. 8, F & A M, $102.00; Holland Lodge No. 20, F & A M, $102.00; Thomas Waller, Lodge No. 49, F & A M, $25.00; William Nickerson, Jr., Lodge No. 55, F & A M, $25.00; Los Angeles Consistory No. 26, AASR of Freemasonry, $102.00; Egyption Temple No. 5, AEAONMS, $102.00; Electa Chapter, No. 3, O.E.S., $405.11; Affectionate Chapter No. 18, $44.05; Queen Vashti Chapter No. 29, $46.50; Sympathy Chapter No. 43, $13.75; Rose of Sharan Chapter No. 46, $84.25; Gethsemane Chapter No. 62, $24.75; Sadie Alexander, Chapter No. 63, $15.00; Ida Mae Robertson, PGM, Golden State Grand Chapter, $5.00; James H. Wilson Lodge No. 68, F & A M, $13.00; Princess Oziel Chapter No. 32, $11.00; Deborah Chapter No. 13, $5.00; and Virginia Johnson, $5.00.

Illinois: The Illinois conference of NAACP branches held its 1953 convention at CAIRO October 17-18. In addition to reports of officers and committees, there were speeches by Paul Thurlow, conference president; Rev. Mr. Lewis Dawley, conference vice-president; Ben Zion Emanuel, director Illinois regional office of the Anti-Defamation League; and Gloster Current, director of NAACP branches.

The CHICAGO branch reports the following activities: progress of the membership campaign under the direction of A. L. Foster; filing of a suit against the Chicago Housing Authority to force them to admit Negro tenants and to end race discrimination in public housing; the executive board's meeting with commissioner of police Timothy O'Connor to urge him to end mob violence in certain sections of the city; and the institution of two suits in the Illinois Supreme Court against the Illinois Central Railroad. The case, *Vera Johnson vs. Illinois Central Railroad,* involved issuance of a "Car Card" to Miss Johnson in order to designate the car in which she and other Negroes were to be seated.

The other case, *Joseph Howard vs. Local vs. Wood Wire and Metal Lathers International Union (AFL)* is that of a Negro denied admission to the union because of his race and color.

Dr. Edgar F. Woodson was principal speaker at the October 11 meeting sponsored by the EAST ST. LOUIS branch. Dr. Woodson visualized a future in which atomic energy works for the uplift instead of the destruction of man and an America in which "white supremacy" would seem like a bad dream of a barbaric age.

Louisiana: Director of branches Gloster Current commented that the 11th annual meeting of the LOUISIANA state conference of NAACP branches was the best that he has ever seen in the state as the conference closed on October 31 at the Little Zion Baptist church in Opelousas.

This was a significant meeting because it was the first one held since the employment of a full time executive-secretary.

Dr. E. A. Johnson, president and a longtime fighter against segregation and discrimination, opened the conference with a session of the executive board. Among the highlights of this board meeting was the report of executive-secretary Leonard Avery. Mr. Avery reported that the NAACP in the state is still the foremost organization in Louisiana working toward breaking down segregation and discrimination and pointing the way toward first-class citizenship.

Avery further recommended that the conference plan and adopt a worthwhile community action program so that all persons would be informed that it is the Negro in the local community

who is desiring, working, and fighting to obtain first-class citizenship and not the people from New York alone.

The Friday night mass meeting held at the Little Zion Baptist church was well attended, with the keynote address by J. K. Haynes, president of the Louisiana Educational Association. Mr. Haynes' subject was "Living in the Present Tense."

Honorable T. W. Huntington, mayor of the city of Opelousas, in delivering the welcome address pledged better communtiy facilities to Negroes in Opelousas. Attorney A. P. Tureaud responded.

At its Saturday session the conference heard from Attorney U. Simpson Tate, regional counsel.

The conference re-elected Dr. E. A. Johnson president. Other officers elected included A. J. Chapital, Sr., vice-president; Borel C. Dauphin, secretary; and B. J. Stanley, treasurer.

The executive board includes Daniel E. Byrd, A. P. Tureaud, New Orleans; Richard Millspaugh, Opelousas; Mrs. B. E. King, Ruston; G. B. Scott, Natchitoches; S. E. Briscoe, Jennings; J. N. Blankenship, Saline; John G. Lewis, Baton Rouge; and M. M. Coleman, Minden.

At its first board meeting the executive board unanimously selected Atty. Leonard P. Avery as its executive-secretary.

Minnesota: The October membership meeting of the MINNEAPOLIS branch was addressed by Arthur Lewis, director of the elementary school program of the Minneapolis board of education.

The executive officers of the branch met with other agency officials on intergroup relations policies at a meeting sponsored in October by the Mayor's Council on Human Relations. Purpose of the meeting was to discuss the common problems of the group.

The branch executive board has regretfully accepted the resignation of Mr. and Mrs. John Hutcherson. Mr. Hutcherson was branch treasurer and his wife a member of the executive board.

New York: The SCHENECTADY branch during the past summer successfully broke down the color bar in the offices of the American Locomotive Company. After several months of conferences with company officials and union leaders, and the setting up of several test cases which the branch was prepared to take into the courts if necessary, the company capitulated and hired its first Negro clerk-typist.

The Schenectady branch has filed a complaint with the State Commission Against Discrimination charging Cain's Castle with refusing admission to Negroes.

The integration of public housing is slowly progressing. There are now three white families in a formerly all Negro project; one Negro family in a formerly all white project; three Negro families in another all white project and 26 colored families in the most recently constructed project.

Oklahoma: Mrs. Caroline Burks of the OKLAHOMA CITY branch writes us, as of November 3, 1953, that the branch item carried at page 491 in the October 1953 *Crisis* is erroneous. *The Crisis* item said that Miss Etta Moten had made charges that "the NAACP is controlled by Communists." "The Oklahoma City branch," explains Mrs. Burks, "did not by unanimous vote 'authorize the writing of a letter to Etta Moten in protest against her remark made at the municipal auditorium in April that the NAACP is controlled by Communists. Miss Moten said these charges had been made by a Muskogee school teacher, but she refused to reveal his or her identity.'

"The Oklahoma City branch did not authorize," continues Mrs. Burks, "such a vote because Miss Moten did *not* say any such thing, and above six thousand

people could testify that she did not, including this writer.

"The Oklahoma City branch did not vote to send a letter of commendation to Miss Moten for her charming performance and her favorable comments on the integrated seating pattern in the Oklahoma City municipal auditorium. We loved her for that, particularly we who have fought so hard for integration at the municipal auditorium."

JOHN BOLT CULBERTSON
Greensville, S. C.

South Carolina: John Bolt Culbertson, a native white South Carolinian, has given freely of his time and money in speaking before NAACP branches in the state. Mr. Culbertson, a lawyer, has represented free of charge many unfortunate and penniless Negroes who have unjustly fallen into the clutches of the law.

Wisconsin: The first annual Wisconsin state conference of NAACP branches was held October 17-18 at the Unitarian church in Madison. Major responsibility for the planning and execution of the conference rested with Mrs. Ardie Halyard of Milwaukee and Henry Hamilton of Madison.

Seventy delegates from branches in Racine, Kenosha, Beloit, Milwaukee, and Madison attended the two-day session at their own expense.

The conference held leadership training programs and workshops, with expert consultants in the various areas. Closing session of the conference was addressed by Roy Wilkins, NAACP administrator.

YOUTH COUNCIL NEWS

New Jersey: The Orange and Maplewood youth councils of the NAACP recently held its first fall meeting after a two-month summer vacation. Council president Robert Hairston welcomed all of the members back and urged their continued support of the council.

Reports on the 44th annual NAACP convention were given by president Hairston and William Payne. Fannie Green, a popular council member and one of its most active workers, also reported on the convention from the woman's point of view.

Mr. Hairston served on several convention committees.

Mr. Payne, in his report, recalled an incident involving himself and six other youth delegates soon after their arrival in St. Louis. The delegation went to the white YMCA for accommodations, but instead of being accepted was referred to the colored YMCA in another section of town. This incident of racial discrimination was brought to the attention of the NAACP national board at the convention, and was of extreme significance to both the delegates and the convention because it brought the Association's fight against discrimination directly home to the people.

Mr. Payne was also impressed by the support which the public is giving the NAACP in its fight for full equality and that people of all races and creeds have joined hands in this fight.

Delegates Arthur Gold and Tony Levy were not heard because they had returned to Princeton and Harvard, respectively.

College and School News

FLORIDA NORMAL AND INDUSTRIAL MEMORIAL COLLEGE held a special program on October 23 in celebration of United Nations Day. The program was student planned and executed under the supervision of associate professors Mrs. Josie Greer and Mrs. Alta Greene.

■

Dr. Marguerite Cartwright of Hunter College, New York City, spoke on "The Role of the Teacher in Inter-Cultural Relations" at the 37th annual conference of the MARYLAND EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION on October 15.

■

The INSTITUTE FOR RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL STUDIES FELLOWSHIP opened its 16th year in New York City in October. Courses began on October 28 with the cooperation of Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant scholars.

■

KNOXVILLE COLLEGE dedicated its new faculty dormitory in October, with Dr. John Arneal of Baltimore, Maryland, as the featured speaker. The new dormitory is a modernistic brick structure containing four-room apartments for married faculty members, with eighteen rooms for single teachers.

■

The pros and cons of the Social Security program as it currently stands and a discussion of many of the changes under consideration is the subject of a new publication,

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Collected Papers in Social Security, released in October by the NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK, one of the leading organizations in the field of health and welfare.

■

After two years' work the PUBLIC EDUCATION ASSOCIATION announces publication of its 54-page, illustrated booklet, *A Citizen's Guide to the New York City Schools*. The three sections of the booklet discuss "The Measure of the School System"; "What Makes the School System Tick?"; and "A Glossary of School Terms."

■

CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE welcomed 7,000 alumni, former students and friends, at its 1953 homecoming on October 10.

■

Registrar John F. Whittaker of ATLANTA UNIVERSITY announces an enrollment of 659 in the various divisions of the graduate and professional schools, including the laboratory school of the graduate school of education. Furthermore, there are ten exchange students from the various undergraduate colleges taking courses in the school of library service. This is an increase of 46 students over the enrollment at this time last year.

The 1953-54 forum series of the school of arts and sciences opened on October 23 with a lecture by Professor Howard Beale of the University of Wisconsin. His subject was "Can Academic Freedom be Preserved in Time of Crisis?" The fall book review series of the university school of library service opened on October 27 with a review of Jomo

Kenyatta's *Facing Mount Kenya.* The book was reviewed by Dr. Morris Siegel of the university department of anthropology.

Dr. Robert P. Daniel, president of Virginia State college, was principal speaker at the 10th annual charter-day convocation of the university.

■

ALBANY STATE COLLEGE was host October 15-17 to the Future Teachers of America Association. The FTA is carried on as a cooperative project by the National Educational Association and its affiliated state and local associations.

The ASC alumni association recently organized a new alumni chapter in Muscogee county, Georgia, in September.

■

Students referred and counselled by the NATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP SERVICE AND FUND FOR NEGRO STUDENTS to interracial colleges, as of September 1953, have set a new high-water mark for success in gaining acceptances and scholarship awards for 224 institutions, according to *Opportunity News in* interracial colleges.

According to NSSFNS, "two-way integration" during its first year brought about the referral of 263 Negro and white students to 13 colleges, predominantly of the white race.

■

Speeches by Henry Heald, chancellor of New York university, Dag Hammarskjold, secretary-general of the United Nations, Sir Gladwyn Jebb, permanent representative of the United Kingdom to UN, Harold Stassen, director for mutual security, and Alberto Lleras, secretary-general of the Organization of American States, marked the opening session in October of a two-day conference on the responsibilities of higher education, which is being jointly sponsored by NEW YORK UNIVERSITY and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

■

Agnes E. Meyer, wife of the publisher of the Washington *Post,* was main speaker in October before the TEACHERS OF THE SOUTH EASTERN ZONE of the New York State Teachers Association in Carnegie Hall, New York City. Mrs. Meyer spoke on "Freedom of Conscience."

■

New president of the SHAW UNIVERSITY student body is Lucius Walker, a senior from Rochelle, New Jersey. Shaw celebrated homecoming on October 24 with a parade and other activities.

■

A lyceum attraction of LIVINGSTONE COLLEGE on October 27 was

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the concert of the Leonard Depaur Infantry Chorus.

■

"Astronomy for the Family," a series of talks for boys and girls from 8 to 14 years old about the solar system and the universe beyond, opened on October 17 at THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY. These informal talks are designed to acquaint children with the geography of the sky and the interesting star legends.

■

Fifty-eight DILLARD UNIVERSITY students, representing ten states and Nigeria, British West Africa, qualified for the scholarship honor roll for the second semester, 1952-53. Honor roll students must maintain grade averages indicating superior or exceptional progress in their studies.

The Dillard award for the most distinguished alumnus of 1953 went during the 19th annual founders' day activities to Dr. Ulysses Grant Dailey of Chicago, Illinois. The presentation was made by Dr. Albert Dent, president of Dillard, at an alumni banquet sponsored by the New Orleans chapter of the university alumni association.

■

Dr. Nick Aaron Ford, head of the department of English at MORGAN STATE COLLEGE and chairman of the creative writing committee of the College Language Association, has announced plans for the third national literary contest sponsored by the College Language Association. A prize fund of $300 has been donated by the Johnson Publications, publishers of *Ebony*, *Jet* and *Tan*. The contest is open to any student

enrolled in any one of the nearly 100 colleges belonging to the CLA.

■

SAVANNAH STATE COLLEGE reports a deciding upswing in its enrollment for the fall quarter with 1,024 students entered regular day classes; dents. Seven hundred ninety-five 25 are taking classes on Saturday; 119 have enrolled for the evening classes; 40 in the shops; and an additional 45 have enrolled in trade extension classes at Waycross, Macon, and Atlanta.

President W. K. Payne announces board approval of the formation of seven instructional divisions, with the general extension and correspondance division, at SSC. The new divisions will be humanities, social science, natural science, education, business administration, engineering and technical sciences, and vocational training. The college at present has three instructional divisions plus general extension.

■

FAYETTEVILLE STATE COLLEGE is in the midst of a $504,000 building program which includes an infirmary, $125,000; additions to the laundry, $55,000; repairs and additions to the industrial building, $74,000; renovation of Vance hall, $105,000; repairs and equipment for dormitories, $35,000; campus improvement and roads, $52,000; enlargement, seating, and lighting of athletic field, $52,000; and additional equipment for library, $6,000. Funds have also been appropriated for a new boiler, garages, and a campus telephone system.

■

Five COLLEGE LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION members have been granted a Ford Fellowship for the current year, as follows: Dr. Thomas Jarrett, Atlanta university; Mrs. Margaret Alexander, Jackson college; Dr. Ruth Horry, North Carolina college at Durham; Mrs. Juanita Williamson, LeMoyne; and Dr. Sophia Nelson, West Virginia State. CLA founder Dr. Hugh Gloster and his family are in Japan where he will work this year as a Fulbright lecturer.

President Rufus Clement of Atlanta university has invited the CLA to hold its next annual meeting at AU in April, 1954.

■

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The October 1, 1953, Loose-Leaf Circular of the U. S. Office of Education lists VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE among the leaders in general education in American colleges and universities. This recognition has come as result of the basic education program developed at VSC by Dr. A. G. Macklin as director of the division.

VSC was host October 3 to the State Advisory Council for Vocational Agriculture; to the annual meeting of Virginia Farm and Home Agents October 26-27; and to the concert version of *Carmen Jones,* with Muriel Rahn in the title role, November 18. Dr. Archibald Carey, Jr., first alternate on the U. S. delegation to UN, addressed formal opening exercises of the college in October; annual homecoming festivities were held October 31; and 33rd observance of American Education Week jointly with the National Education Association and the American Legion November 8-14.

Dr. Edna Meade Colson, retiring director of the VSC school of education, was honored at a testimonial dinner given by the college on October 21, Dr. Colson, as of October, had completed 44 years of service at Virginia State where she began her work in 1902 when the college was called Virginia Normal and Industrial Institute.

■

Aubrey Williams, editor of the *Southern Farmer* and president of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, was speaker at the 86th founders' day exercises of TALLADEGA COLLEGE on November 8.

President Arthur Gray led the panel discussion on "De-segregation

in Education" at the Alabama state conference of NAACP branches on November 7. Talladega trustees have authorized the erection of a new college building made possible by funds received from the Capital Funds campaign of the United Negro College Fund. Construction on the building will start in the spring.

Forty members of the Talladega college choir, directed by Frank Harrison, filled the following concert schedule beginning with Shaw on October 23: October 25, Washington; October 26, New York City, radio and TV appearance; October 27, Scarsdale, N. Y.; October 28-29, Montclair, N. J.; October 29 (night), Honesdale, Pa.; October 30, New York City college; and November 1, Roanoke, Va.

■

President C. W. Maxwell of the WILLIAM PENN BUSINESS INSTITUTE (Philadelphia, Pa.) reports increased enrollment in his institution. This increase is due to new students, with the return of advanced students.

According to the findings of a survey conducted by the WPBI, the job opportunities for Negro clerical and secretarial workers is definitely on the increase.

■

"The Heritage I Possess" is the subject of the fourth annual National Scholastic Essay Contest conducted by the LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) school of journalism. Typed essays submitted in this contest are to be 1,000 words each. The deadline is March 1, 1954. The contest is open to any bonafide registrant in a high school anywhere in the United States if his entry is certified by his high school principal.

Dr. Gerard Priestly, distinguished British historian and lecturer, opened the 1953-54 lecture-recital series at Lincoln with a speech on "The United Nations: A Milestone Towards Peace." Lincoln Librarian A. P. Marshal was elevated to chairmanship of the college and university

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division of the Missouri Library Association at their 53rd annual session held in Kansas City, Mo., October 1-3. The New Farmers of America honored President Sherman Scruggs by bestowing upon him the Honorary Superior Farmer degree, the highest degree bestowed by the NFA.

Mary Farris, a 1953 graduate of the Lincoln art department, is now an instructor in art at Florida N and I college, St. Augustine, Fla.

■

Just before President Charles Wesley of CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE delivered the first formal convocation address to the CSC student body in October he was presented the sesquicentennial medallion by sophomore Richard Tillson "in honor and in memory of Ohio's 150th anniversary."

A grant of $3,100 has been awarded Central State by the National Science Foundation for the support of undergraduate research in chemistry for a period of two years. This grant makes provisions for purchase of equipment and supplies, travel, and for three fellowships of $500 each to be awarded to a senior student who has shown outstanding ability in chemistry. Sylvester McPherson, an honor student from Xenia, Ohio, is recipient of the first $500 fellowsihp awarded to a student.

■

FLORIDA A AND M UNIVERSITY personnel more than doubled Famcee's red feather campaign goal of $1,500 by subscribing and contributing $3,134.15.

Director of public relations Charles Smity III, made his debut as a sportcaster in October over Station WTNT, a Mutual affiliate.

Famcee was host October 30-31 to the annual meeting of the Florida Council of the Teachers of English.

■

The first in a series of three discussions on the United Nations and its program was held in the FISK UNIVERSITY international student center on October 26. Dr. Ernest Linton led the first discussion; other meetings were held on November 9 and November 23.

Joan Arlene Wood, a junior from Portland, Oregon, is the first student to enroll at Fisk under the "two-way integration project" launched this year by the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students. Miss Wood has been a student at Lewis and Clark college in Portland, but decided to come to Fisk after attending an interracial institute where she met Dr. Herman Long of Fisk's race relations department.

Ground-breaking ceremonies for Scribner hall, a women's dormitory on the northwest campus adjacent to Jubilee hall; and Park hall, a social science building located immediately behind the memorial chapel, took place on September 30. President Charles Johnson gave the principal address in which he paid tribute to Dora A. Scribner, who was teacher of English for forty-one years, and Dr. Robert E. Park, who until his death in 1942, was one of the leaders in the field of human relations and benefactor of Fisk.

Fernando Augusto Laires of Lisbon, Portugal, visited Fisk September 30-October 7 to observe the methods of music education.

Book Reviews

SCOLDING REBUKE

***Negro Higher Education in the State of South Carolina.* By Lewis K. McMillan, Ph.D. Orangeburg, South Carolina: State A. & M. College, 1952. (Published by the author). XII + 296pp. $5.00.**

Dr. Lewis K. McMillan's *Negro Education in the State of South Carolina* is first of all a scalding personal survey of the Negro colleges in the author's native state. Himself a professor of history at South Carolina State College for Negroes until the publication of this book, Dr. McMillan has set fire to his own stage like another Erostratus by writing tartly up to the academic and/or political powers. The powers reacted with equal bluntness in effecting his dismissal.

This situation would tend to establish Dr. McMillan's highly critical survey as an act of daring and courage in face of the inevitable. And so it is. It goes into the five junior colleges, the four senior private colleges, and the senior public college in South Carolina with the factual fervor of the right-minded, crusading journalist that the author can at times be. It appraises grounds and buildings, examines purposes, and summarizes findings by indicating the "historical significance" of each institution.

In all this, Dr. McMillan calls upon his native state to live up to its responsibility for the educational progress of its Negro population, "a poor, loyal, clumsy, unschooled, friendless, struggling mass." He charges college administrations with the fostering of paternalism, and despotism, proclaims of the colleges that "They are failures now, all of them . . ." being "cut off from the currents of American educational and cultural life." Of State, he asserts that

> "Instead of making better farmers out of a farming Negro population, the College is merely teaching a few youth to impart superficial instructions under impossible circumstances to a few indifferent high school youth. Instead of making fine homes out of crude sub-human shacks and shanties, the College is merely teaching a few girls to teach cooking and sewing (with inadequate facilities) to a few Negro high school girls who seldom take it seriously. The great mass of the whole South Carolina Negro population has been raised pitifully few notches by a State College that has been in operation more than a half-century."

In Dr. McMillan's book there is much of the wrathful indignation of a greatly disappointed man, but it can be argued that his mood is shaped by his matter. Nevertheless, his book bears the painful trademark of having been rushed into print. It is at once ill-edited and ill-written, and reflects little of the even perspective and discipline one may demand of a scholar. Hence, for all the zeal with which his book delivers its terrible message, this failure will be seized upon as a second "cause" to

bolster the first, for which Dr. McMillan has apparently been separated from his academic role.

HENRY F. WINSLOW

TRAGIC LOVE

***The Narrows.* A novel by Ann Petry. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1953. 428 pp. $3.95.**

In December 1940, the 32-year-old daughter of a Philadelphia investment banker—married, socially prominent and wealthy—charged that her colored chauffeur-butler had attacked her four times in as many hours between Connecticut and New York State and eventually hurled her into shallow water in the Kensico Reservoir. The FBI quickly entered the case under the impression that it possibly offered a kidnapping angle—and as quickly, and quietly, dropped it; a Connecticut state's attorney refused to issue a warrant for the accused to appear at Bridgeport Superior Court; and, thanks to NAACP intervention, an all-white jury terminated the matter a month later with a verdict of not guilty.

It may well be that the case of Mrs. John K. Strubing, Jr., vs. ex-army Sergeant Joseph Spell suggested the theme of Ann Petry's new novel, *The Narrows*, a wise and truly distinguished treatment of mature and tragic love. But whatever the sources, Link Williams, the proud, adopted son of Abbie Crunch whom the paternalistic racketeer Bill Hod had sent to Dartmouth, is the best portrait of the Negro as man loving, above all, yet drawn by a serious American novelist.

A self-possessed, highly photogenic, "lordly looking bastard" with a profile like John Barrymore's, "the head, the shoulders, the whole length of him had the solidity of sculpture. . . . Every woman who saw this nigger's picture would cut it out, clip it out, tear it out, drool over it. Every white man who saw it would do a slow burn." So mused Peter Bullock, publisher-editor of the Monmouth *Chronicle*, which office he used to feed his reading public with lurid pictures and stories of Negro criminals and crime the better to fix an unfavorable image in the public mind.

To the young Columbia University trained journalist who looked into Link's background and found him to be at once an outstanding intellect and scholar it was logical that Mrs. Camilla Treadway Sheffield's charge of rape was a "scorch the earth" decision stemming from an uprooted love affair. But not so to Bullock and Captain Sheffield, or to the stern, elderly Mrs. Treadway, mistress of an iron will and munitions plant. It couldn't be. Yet, it was. And those who see the implications in the quotation Miss Petry presents from Shakespeare's *Henry V* (. . . There is a river in Macedon; and there is also moreover a river at Monmouth; but it is out of my prains what is the name of the other river; but 'tis all one, 'tis alike as my fingers is to my fingers, and there is salmons in both.") will know with what natural affinity a Link Williams and Camilla Sheffield find themselves in each other's arms.

Link wanted her, but on terms befitting his pride, certainly not on terms suitable to her pride and possessiveness. She wanted him to want her, without reference to or revelation of the fact that she was married and worth millions. So she deceived him, and in so doing injured his sense of manly dignity, anchored as it was in his Phi Beta Kappa mind. Thus they quarrelled, fought; and when he called it quits, she screamed, and screamed, and all Monmouth began to whisper and seethe.

Nevertheless, this is not a novel of violence and tensions with chapters reg-

istering a leaping series of explosions. Rather, it is a steady and penetrating study of deep and determined passions. She walked as if she owned the world because she did; he deferred to neither Elsie the sacred cow nor Electra the sacred sister.

But despite the overwhelming importance of Link and Camilla to Miss Petry's main theme, her really remarkable achievement in *The Narrows* is one Mamie Smith Powther, a Chaucerian wife of Bath so authenticated with easy song and mellow muliebrity that she is simply ample for everybody. Mamie, whose name probably derives from that of the famous blues singer, is a character for all times.

Yet the notable superiority of Mamie does not make other members of Miss Petry's cast less convincing, for there is adorable little Abbie Crunch as the personified epitome of New England aristocracy; the cuckolded husband Malcolm Powther, endowed with so deep a sense of devotion to his occupation as butler that he belongs to the European tradition, but nevertheless flawed by his self-effacing slavery to Mamie's exuding charms; or there is J.C., a crude, creeping, loathesome little brat heading for the reformatory.

Miss Petry uses in this novel a cellular-like, flashbacking technique which fills out pockets of pertinent information by following the mental excursions of her characters. To the sharply focusing eye which earned her honorable mention in *The Street* has been added a double portion of compassionate insight into human nature. The result makes for wholesome reading.

HENRY F. WINSLOW

"CHURCH SERMON"

Go Tell It On The Mountain. A novel by James Baldwin. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953. 303 pp. $3.50.

James Baldwin's *Go Tell It On The Mountain* is an extended and polished store-front church sermon directed at Mount Parnassus the distinction of which lies in the charming simplicity of its carefully cadenced prose. The central character by designation is 14-year-old John Grimes, who attempts to articulate the meaning of his life as he lies writhing on the "threshing floor" in the *Temple of the Fire Baptised*. But overshadowing John is Aunt Florence, a kind of Dame Conscience who shakes so lethal a finger at her brother, Gabriel, John's foster father, that this preaching deacon comes off as her foil.

Gabriel's life, or "prayer," turns on a conflict between consciousness of the imprecations of Jeremiah and the imagery of the Songs of Solomon. It is his accomplished trait to work up heats of intense religious passion that spend themselves in lust—a sensuality which constitutes the main part of the sin with which this novel is supposedly laden. Gabriel's "prayer," however, is but one of the three flashback sketches with which Mr. Baldwin fills out the fat mid-section of his three-part work; the others are those of Gabriel's wife Elizabeth and sister Florence.

This tracing of origins of Mr. Baldwin's cast of Harlem holy-rollers back to their native South introduces a simplicity of another kind and quality. In essence, it attempts to invest the religious experience of Negroes with a significance which supposedly links them with a peculiar "tradition" or "past." Thus we find in fiction form the thesis Mr. Baldwin has been urging as an anti-protest novelist critic, a thesis which is being warmly endorsed by the clique of critic-patrons who sponsor this notion through publications like the *Partisan Review* and *The Reporter*. It is no doubt intriguing to those who need to believe it and who will not see the similarity between Gabriel's "prayer" and those of John Wesley and George Whitfield. Nevertheless, in *Go Tell It On The Mountain* there is con-

siderable nature, for there is much truth; but there is less art, for there is nothing new. Like young Biblical Ahimaaz whose story Mr. Baldwin has recounted on page 156, he has seen the great tumult. Whether he knows what it is is a matter of conjecture.

HENRY F. WINSLOW

***Poesia Negra de Expressao Portuguesa (Negro Poetry in the Portuguese Tongue).* Compiled by Francisco Tenreiro and Mário Pinto de Andrade. Lisbon, Portugal: Livraria Editora, 1853. 18 pp.**

The six poets represented are Alda do Espírito Santo and Francisco José Tenreiro from São Tomé; Agostinho Neto, Antonio Jacinto, and Viriato da Cruz from Angola; and Noemia de Sousa from Mozambique.

Their inspiration, however, seems to be derived more from books (Léon Damas' *Poétes d'Expression Française,* for example) than from the pulsating life of their native soil. Despite their stylized and often stereotyped themes, several of the poems are interesting and one or two are movingly lyrical.

NEGROES UPSTAIRS

(*Continued from page* 588)

would have done if the situation were vice versa. Even if there were no segregation in the beginning, it would still be wrong to act in the manner in which those Negroes did. I do believe that everyone, regardless of race, is entitled to some privacy of their own. If I were sitting in that cafeteria, with or without a relative or friend of mine, I would not appreciate a white person or even a Negro with whom I did not associate to be so rude as to intrude at the table at which I am dining, for if I am in the position to leave that place I would do so.

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is, and has been for a long time, fighting for what they call 'equal rights.' Well, what do you consider as being equal rights? No one is holding the Negroes back from doing anything that they want to among themselves. There are Negroes who have just as much or more than some white people. If they were fighting for this non-segregation business, well, it was granted at the Navy Yard, but what happened. A pitiful few acted like hoodlums.

"What difference does it make what color you are? I am a Negro and I'm proud to be one. Does anyone know what color soul he has? God doesn't look for color. He looks to see whether or not the soul is clean." Mrs. Emma Ophelia Smalls, Station A. Box 6."

In Washington, the director of the bureau maintained contact with the Navy Department and the White House on the Charleston situation to make certain that every possible precaution was taken to avoid any physical violence. It appears that the federal authorities were alert, although, we do not believe that the Navy Department should have permitted the crowd to congregate in front of the cafeteria. The Navy said that an attempt to disperse the crowd would probably have "bad reactions." It was the significance in the *News* and *Courier* editorial which we quote. In speaking of the Navy's move to end segregation the *Courier* said: "The Federal order, which we deplore, appears to be here to stay."

The Director of the bureau believes that the following conclusions can be drawn from this incident.

1. The Navy Department made a serious error in gradually eliminating segregation. If all segregation had been ended when bans on the use of drinking fountains were moved the opposition would not have had an opportunity to build up the kind of following which caused the demonstration at the cafeteria entrance. It is still possible that the ending of segregation in the restrooms may provoke further demonstrations.

2. The prominence given to the Bureau's letter seems to indicate that this channel to favorable public opinion would be very useful when other integration occurs. Perhaps we should study a plan of stimulating correspondence in such situations to make certain that both sides of the questions are properly aired.

3. The editorial reply of the *News* and *Courier* to the Anderson *Independent's* charge that the ending of segregation was an Eisenhower venture rather than a continuation of existing policies of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations is a healthy sign. It is another reminder that those who wish to promote race prejudice in national elections may find that their schemes backfire after the election is over.

RICHARD ALLEN

(*Continued from page* 607)

colored men in the night and lash them until they were willing to say they wanted to go to Africa, out of self-protection the Negroes of New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland began to think in terms of a permanent organization to protect themselves from such indignities. The ever increasing enactment of laws "abridging the liberties and privileges of the Free People of Color" alarmed them, too.

In 1830 a committee which included Bishop Richard Allen met in Philadelphia and constituted itself the first Colored Convention. Allen was elected president. It was agreed that the Convention would, "divise and pursue all legal means for the speedy elevation of ourselves and brethren to the scale and standing of men." The Negro people were urged by their leaders to be diligent, buy land, work to achieve unity, and to take advantage of "every opportunity placed within our power by the benevolent efforts of the friends of humanity in elevating our condition to the rank of freemen." It became obvious that these Negroes wanted full citizenship for themselves, freedom for their enslaved brethren, and a place as citizens in America where they were born, *not in Africa.* The constitution of this first Colored Convention was signed by Bishop Richard Allen.

Long before his death, Allen was recognized as one of the most distinguished citizens of the City of Brotherly Love. Today he is remembered chiefly as the founder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church one hundred and sixty years ago. This denomination has now well over a million members. It owns hundreds of beautiful churches, has established a number of accredited colleges, controls a great publishing house, and is a national force for good throughout America.

LEGAL DIRECTORY

The following directory of some of the many lawyers known to us is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorney outside their home towns. The Crisis maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizen rights.

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VOLUME 60 1953

ARTICLES

About That "Jim Crow" Coca Cola Machine 475
American Negro in College: 1952-53 397
Andrews, Mandell: How The Taylors Get Results 337
Bebb, Herbert: Non-Government Censorship 275
Boyle, Sarah Patton: Recapturing Principles 543
Cartwright, Marguerite: The Mob Still Rides 222
Cole, Marley: Jehovah's Witnesses 205
Curry, Stella: Willie Mae Finds Her Niche 465
Dedmond, Frederick H.: The Educator—D. O. W. Holmes 9
Diggs, Irene: Argentine Diptych—Melitón and Schimu 352
Diggs, Irene: Brindis De Salas 537
Diggs, Irene: The Crafty Slave 21
Donald McKayle—Dancer 212
Egbonu, Ndukwe: Nigeria in Transition. 265
Ellison, Ralph: Light on "Invisible Man" 157
Fisher, Miles Mark: Lincoln, Wilberforce, and Integration 602
Frey, Andrew: The Bronze Thinker 7
Gaines, Carolyn L.: La Negrita 137
Hill, Herbert: N. Y. Legislature Attacks Negro Family 469
Hughes, Langston: Richard Allen 605
Jack, Homer A.: Tale of Two Cities ... 217
Jim Crow Coca Cola Machine 350
Johnson, Guy B.: Segregation vs. Integration 591
Kilson, Martin L., Jr.: Mugo-Son-of-Gatheru 140
Langston Hughes Speaks 279
Long, George: Albuquerque Civil Rights Ordinance 521
Madariaga, Salvador de: As Africa Comes of Age 346
Madison, Alfreda L.: Stemming The Tide 281
Mayer, William: Sacramento Housing Fight 26
Mitchell, Clarence: Negroes Now Eat Upstairs 585
Negro History Events 72
Parker, John W.: James E. McGirt 287
Prattis, P. L.: New Look At The World 201
Ralph Ellison—Fiction Winner 154
Record, Wilson: Role of the Negro Intellectual 329
Reddick, L. D.: As I Remember Woodson 75
Reinhardt, George C.: No Segregation In Foxholes 457
Roberts, Elta C.: If I Were A Negro.. 478
Smedley, Al: The Preacher In City Hall 98
Smythe, Hugh, H.: Suiheisha: Japan's NAACP 95
Spingarn, Arthur B.: Books by Negro Authors, 1952 83
Taylor, Lloyd: Interracial Romances on the Campus 23
Westerman, George W.: American-Panamanian Relations 147
Williams, Franklin H.: Jim Crow Dies Hard 91
Williams, Valena M.: Facts and Figures 527
Wilson, Ruth D.: Phi Beta Kappa At Howard University 393
Yamada, George: Old Stereotyped Pattern 17

EDITORIALS

Adam Clayton Powell, Sr. 357
Anti-Bias Training 229
Book Burning 357
Central Africa 549
Constructive Step 548
Contract Bias 101
Debit and Credit 1952 34
Governor Byrnes 548
Liberating "Enslaved Peoples" 228
Mrs. Leah Sykes Young 229
Police Brutality 164
Practical Christianity 165
President Eisenhower 100
School Cases 356
School Paradoxes 485
Supreme Court and Segregation 34
Supreme Court Decisions 356
The President Speaks 484
Tobias on Segregation Cases 612

BOOK REVIEWS

Baldwin, James: Go Tell It on the Mountain 637
Beauvoir, Simone de: The Second Sex.. 383
Billington, Ray Allen: The Journal of Charlotte L. Forten 503
Civil Rights In The U.S. 1952 506
Emerson, Thomas I. (Ed.): Political and Civil Rights in the U.S. 186
Guzman, Jessie P. (Ed.): 1952 Negro Yearbook 185
Himes, Chester: Cast The First Stone.. 246
Hughes, Langston: Simple Takes A Wife 506
Hughes, Langston: The First Book Of Negroes 62
Kennedy, Mark: The Pecking Order ... 573
Machado de Assis: Dom Casmurro 505
McMillan, Lewis: Higher Education in South Carolina 635
Parrinder, Geoffrey: Religion In An African City 386
Petry, Ann: The Narrows 636
Porter, Arabel J. (Ed.): New World Writing 119
Pyles, Thomas: Words And Ways Of American English 63
Segy, Ladislas: African Sculpture Speaks 61

Tegnaeus, Harry: Blood-Brothers 250
Tenreio, Francisco (Ed.): Poesia Negra de Expressao Portuguesa 638
Thomas, Will: The Seeking 504
Wagley, Charles (Ed.): Race And Class In Rural Brazil 248
What Is Race? 247
Wright, Richard: The Outsider 381

MISCELLANEOUS
ALONG THE NAACP BATTLEFRONT
NEWS FROM THE BRANCHES AND YOUTH COUNCILS

41-50; 110-118; 168-176; 230-237; 299-306; 363-372; 486-492; 556-563; 617-626.

GOOD NEWS

88, 166, 215, 473, 534, 590.

COLLEGE AND SCHOOL NEWS

52-60; 120-127; 177-184; 238-245; 307-315; 373-380; 413-419; 493-501; 565-572; 627-634; 44th Annual NAACP Conference and Resolutions of the 44th Annual NAACP Conference 426-447.

LOOKING AND LISTENING

36-40; 102-109; 160-163; 224-227; 295-297; 359-362; 480-483; 550-552; 614-616.

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